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The Bombay Chronicle

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FOUNDED BY SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA IN 1913.

VOL. VIII NO. 213

BOMBAY: MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1920.

TWO ANNAS

SHIPPING.

P. & O.
AND
BRITISH INDIA.
(Company Incorporated in England.)
MAIL & PASSENGER SERVICE.
SAILING TO PLYMOUTH AND LONDON
CALLING AT MARSEILLE.
All Passengers are requested to be
present at Pass Ports.

Date	Steamers	Tons
11th Sept.	Kalmar-hind	11480
11th "	Kalyan	8987
15th "	Fluss Del	7846
15th "	Atank	16118
17th "	Mandala	16118
22nd Oct.	De'ta	8089
22nd "	De'ta	14990
22nd "	Kalva	8047
22nd "	Karnala	8048
22nd "	Naldera	16285
22nd Nov.	Syria	6100

SAILINGS TO STRAITS AND CHINA AND AUSTRALIA.

Date about	Steamers	Ports
1st Sept.	Naldera	Calcutta, Colombo, Penang, Singapore, Hongkong and Shanghai
1st "	Duners	Calcutta, Colombo, Penang, Singapore, Hongkong and Shanghai

SAILINGS TO AFRICA, KARACHI AND PERSIAN GULF.

Date about	Steamers	Ports
1st Sept.	Naldera	Karachi & P. Gulf 10 a.m.
1st "	Chalka	Karachi direct 11 a.m.
9th "	Arratoon	East and South Africa
9th "	Barjora	Karachi & P. Gulf

Terms and Rates of Freight and passage
of P. and O. and B. I. sailing may be
obtained with.

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Nisal Road, Fort, Bombay.

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(Incorporated in Japan.)
**REGULAR SERVICE TO JAPAN VIA
SINGAPORE, HONGKONG AND
SHANGHAI.**
Steamer. Commander. Tonnage. Arrival. Departure.
Ramon Maru. J. N. Isima. 6080. 16th Sept. 21st Sept.
Toshima Maru. C. Hideshima. 4221. 17th Sept. 28th Sept.
Arrives from New York and sails for Calcutta via
Colombo and Madras.
For freight and passage apply to
T. TAGAMI,
Manager.
Maraby Road, Fort, Bombay.

OSAKA SHOSEN KAISHA

(Incorporated in Japan.)
**REGULAR SERVICE TO JAPAN VIA
SINGAPORE AND HONGKONG.**
Steamer. Captain. Arrival. Departure.
Luzon Maru. J. Shinzaki. 174th Sept. 28th Sept.
Sham Maru. D. Imamura. 20th Sept. 30th Sept.
Indus Maru. R. Yano. 1st Oct. 10th Oct.
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Manager.
Ballard Road, Bombay.

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Rangoon per Steamship Ormo, Nagpur and
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Paid-up Capital £1,050,000
Reserve Fund of Shareholders £750,000
Reserve Fund of Bank £1,850,000
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London Joint Stock Bank, Ltd.
BRANCHES AND AGENCIES:
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Batavia, Boraoh, Madras
Bombay, Calcutta, Mauritius
Calcutta, Kandy, New York
Colombo, Karachi, Penang
Delhi, Kota Bharu, Rangoon
Galle, (Kanton), Shanghai, Singapore
The Bank negotiates and collects Bills and
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branches and issues Letters of Credit for
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ing terms:-
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opened and interest allowed thereon at 3 per
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Every description of BANKING and EX-
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Sums above Rs. 1 lakh will be received
terms to be ascertained on application.
FIXED DEPOSITS.
Fixed Deposits are received for twelve
months and shorter periods at rates to be
ascertained on application.
NEW BRITISH WAR LOANS. The Bank
undertakes applications for these loans in
account of Constituents and collection of in-
terest thereon as it falls due FREE OF COM-
MISSION.
J. B. CRICHTON,
Manager.
Esplanade Road, Bombay.

**THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE
BANK, LIMITED.**
(Registered in Japan.)
ESTABLISHED 1888.

Subscribed Capital Yen 100,000,000
Paid-up Capital Yen 74,000,000
Reserve Fund Yen 44,000,000
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Branches: Batavia, Bombay, Buenos Aires, Calcutta
Changchun, Dairen, Fongtien, Hankow, Har-
bin, Hongkong, Honolulu, Kai-Yuan, Kobe,
London, Los Angeles, Lyons, Manila, Naga-
saki, Newchwang, New York, Osaka, Peking
Rangoon, Rio de Janeiro, San Francisco
Seattle, Shanghai, Shimonoseki, Singapore,
Sourabaya, Sydney, Tientsin.
Branches: Cebu, Fukuoka, Tientsin, Vladivostok.
CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened
for approved customers, and interest is allow-
ed at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum on
daily balances of Yen 1,000 to Yen 1,000,000 pro-
vided that the amount of half-yearly interest
is not less than Yen 5.
FIXED DEPOSITS are received for year
or shorter periods on terms which may be
ascertained on application.
Every description of Banking and Exchange
business transacted.
T. SEKI,
Manager.
Post Box No. 204,
Boraby Road, Bombay.

**THE
BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD**
Incorporated by Special Charter of the
Imperial Japanese Government, 1898.

Subscribed Capital Yen 60,000,000
Paid-up Capital Yen 27,500,000
Reserve Fund Yen 7,750,000
HEAD OFFICE:-TAIPEH, FORMOSA
BRANCHES:
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NEW YORK, MOI, KEELUNG
SHANGHAI, AMOI, MAKUNG
HONGKONG, CANTON, SHICHU
SINGAPORE, HANKOW, SHICHU
BATAVIA, HANKOW, SHICHU
SEMARANG, SWATOW, TAMAN
TOKYO, AKO, TAKAW
OSAKA, KAGI, TOWEN
BANKOK
The Bank has also a LARGE NUMBER
OF CORRESPONDENTS at HOME
AND ABROAD.
CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS
are opened and FIXED DEPOSITS are received
for one year and shorter periods on terms
which may be ascertained on application.
Every description of BANKING and EX-
CHANGE business transacted.
J. IHARA,
Manager.
22, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.

BANKING.

**THE
SUMITOMO BANK
LIMITED.**
(Incorporated in Japan.)

Subscribed Capital Yen 70,000,000
Paid-up Capital Yen 40,000,000
Reserve Fund Yen 6,500,000
HEAD OFFICE:-OSAKA
BRANCHES:
Bombay, Kure, San Francisco
Bingomachi, Kurume, Seattle
Dotonbori, Kyoto, Soma
Fukushima, Sendai, Yokohama
Hankow, Moji, Shimonoseki
Hiroshima, Nagoya, Tokyo
Hosobaru, Nankai, Nipponbashi
Kawaguchi, Niigata, Wakamatsu
Kobe, Onomichi, Yokohama
CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and in-
terest allowed half yearly on daily balance
of Yen 1,000 to Yen 1,000,000 at 2 per cent.
annum provided the sum accrued amounts
to Yen 5.
FIXED DEPOSITS received for 12 months
and far shorter periods on terms which may
be ascertained on application.
Every description of BANKING and EX-
CHANGE business transacted.
J. SATO,
Manager.
Churchgate Street, Bombay.
Post Box No. 889.

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ESTABLISHED 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1906.
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN
COMPANIES ACT OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE:-
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.
BRANCH: Ahmedabad.
CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED 2,00,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP 1,00,00,000
RESERVE FUND 1,00,00,000
CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS
Interest is allowed on daily balance from
Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2
PER CENT. PER ANNUM THROUGH-
OUT THE YEAR. On sums exceeding
Rs. 1,00,000, interest is allowed by special
arrangement. No interest will be allowed
which does not amount to Rs. 3 per half year.
Deposits are received fixed for one year or
for shorter periods at the rates of interest
which may be ascertained on application.
SAVINGS BANK accounts opened on
favourable terms. Rules on application.
H. P. STRINGFELLOW,
Manager.

**THE PUNJAB NATIONAL
BANK, LIMITED.**
ESTABLISHED 15TH MAY, 1919.

Capital authorized 50,00,000
Capital issued 31,00,000
Capital Subscribed 31,00,000
Capital Paid-up 16,00,000
Reserve Fund 15,00,000
Dividend of the rate of 12 per cent. per
annum has been declared, by the Bank in
paid-up capital.
HEAD OFFICE:-LAHORE.
BRANCHES:
Amritsar, Bikaner, Ludhiana
Bombay, Calcutta, Ferozepur
Cawnpore, Jalandhar, Jammu
Delhi, Dibrugarh, Patiala
D. I. Khan, Jhelum, Rawalpindi
Ferozepore, Karachi, Sialkot
Gujranwala, Lahore, Srinagar
Gwalior, Umballa City
Yamuna
CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened and in-
terest allowed at the rate of 2 1/2 per cent. per
annum.
FIXED DEPOSITS are received for
months and shorter periods at rates of in-
terest which can be ascertained on applica-
tion.
SAVINGS BANK DEPOSIT—Sums as low
as Rs. 5 received and interest allowed at 2
per cent. per annum.
LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.—The Bank grants accommodation
terms to be arranged against approved secu-
rity.
CHEQUES, HUNDIS, BILLS, etc., of all
stations are bought, collected and discounts.
INLAND TRADE BILLS, etc., of approved
customers are discounted and Demand Drafts
and Telegraphic Transfers issued on station
where the Bank has Branches and Agencies.
For other particulars and rules of business
apply to:
RUPCHAND KAPUR,
Manager.

**THE BANK OF MORVI,
LIMITED**
(REGISTERED IN BOMBAY.)

HEAD OFFICE:-BOMBAY.
BRANCH:-Surat.
LONDON AGENTS: The National Pro-
vincial and Union Bank of England, Ltd.
Subscribed Capital: Rs. 1,00,00,000
Paid-up Capital: Rs. 40,00,000
Reserve liability for calls: Rs. 60,00,000
Reserve and Contingency Rs. 2,50,000
Funds Rs. 2,50,000
CURRENT ACCOUNTS—Interest at 3
per cent. all round the year on sums of
Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000.
FIXED DEPOSITS—Received for 12
months and shorter periods.
SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS—Received at
4 per cent.
**STERLING DRAFTS AND TELEGRA-
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GOLD AND SILVER IMPORTED.
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The Bank receives Savings Deposits on the
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Interest is allowed at the rate of 4 per cent.
per annum on the minimum balance up to
but not exceeding Rs. 3,000 at the credit of
an account between the 1st and the last
business days of each calendar month.
Deposits may be made in the name of two
or more persons and may be made payable to
any one of more of them, or to the survivor
or survivors.
Copies of the rules are obtainable on appli-
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It ranks as one of the soundest Insurance
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Chief Agents,
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Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Kt.
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without any vexatious restrictions.
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Funds exceed Rs. 31,00,000
Surplus about 26,00,000
Claims paid about 26,00,000
Specialties:-Moderate premia, ready on
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Pushing agents wanted all over India.
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CALCUTTA.

Second quinquennial Report recommends
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for each completed year on policies in the
Ordinary Assurance Fund after making a
Special Reserve of Rs. 100,000.
Premium Reserve Funds exceed Rs. 40,00,000
The only Indian Life Office managed on
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Prospectus and forms of Assurance can be
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Funds exceed Rs. 1,20,00,000
Claims paid about Rs. 36,00,000
Annual income exceeds Rs. 15,00,000
All classes of Life Assurance Transacted.
Prospectus and quotations to meet indi-
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ALLUM BHARUCHA & CO.,
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The Company pays all incidental expenses—you pay the premiums—
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Perfect Economy in management. Th-
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FIRST CLASS HOTEL**

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" Khatao Maknaji & Co.

Nasarwanji P. Karani, Esqr., (Partner of Messrs. Batlivala & Karani, Share and Stock Brokers).

In addition to these, our safes are in use at the Cotton Market, Share Bazar, Insurance Cos., Jewellers, Cloth Markets, &c.

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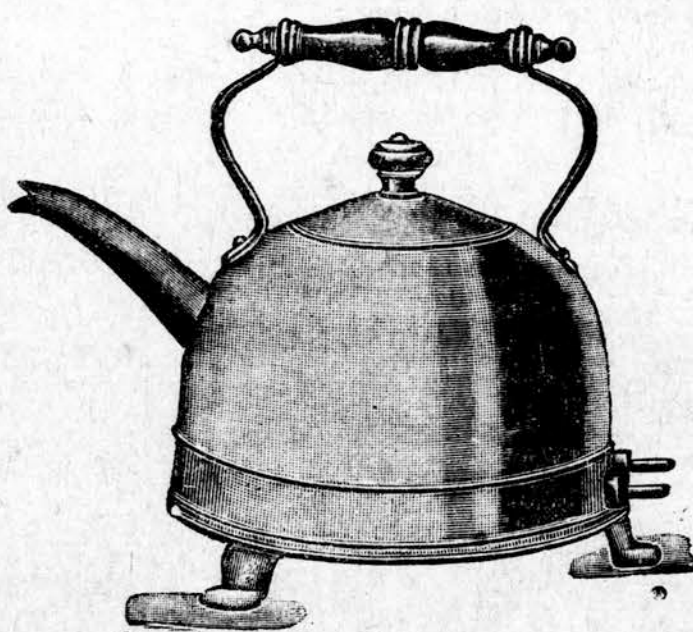
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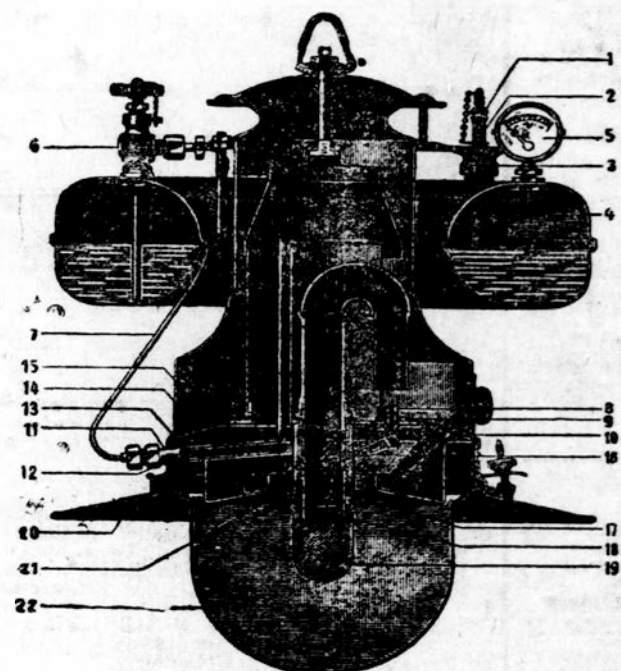
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THE HOUSE FOR:—

Selected:—Crockery, Cutlery, Glass and Electro-plateware.

TABLE CENTRES AND DECORATIONS. FITTED LUNCH AND Tiffin BASKETS. OIL AND ELECTRIC LAMPS AND FITTINGS. HIGH CLASS FITTED SUIT CASES.

S. BANNISTER & Co., Ltd.,

Chgate Street, BOMBAY.

Notice:—STOCK CLEARING SALE, Pathephone Machines and Records.

Double Discs, Re. 1 each.

PUBLIC NOTICE

IN THE MATTER OF CONTINENTAL

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the meeting of the creditors of the above company, will be held on the 8th day of September 1920, at 3-30 p.m. in the office of my attorneys Messrs. Madhavi, Ramdar and Chhotubhai.

HEREBY GI
of the credito

IN supercession of the sale held on the 2nd July, last, the Madras Cotton spinning Factory, situate in Hootin, in the District

N. H. L. Co., Boiler or 100 lbs. pressure
Faillessen Hodgart Barclay, Ltd., a Lathe a
a Drilling machine, a Hand-pump, a Count
Bottom opener and a roller press with all

are the following buildings:—
A Gin-room, a boiler-room, an Engine-room,
a Store-room, four godowns, two residences,
two small rooms and a room in which the Lat
and the drilling machine are set up. The
factory ground is about two acres in exte

ent being Rs. 200. Government
and Municipal taxes extra.

1. The Sub-Judge of Dharwar. The highest bidder in the auction sale will have to pay 25 per cent. on the spot and the balance within a fortnight from the date of the sale. In the matter of the auction sale, the procedure prescribed in Order No. 21 of the Civil Procedure Code will be followed subject to the special provisions of Act 4 of 1893.

K. ANANDRAO,
 Receiver

Hubli 2nd September, 1920

LEGAL NOTI-ES.

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Messrs. CHIDAMBI SWAMYAJI and JAGANNATH CHUNAGI, of Masul Hindu, Indians, have contracted to sell the below-mentioned property to my clients Messrs. CHUNAGI GOLADCHAND and COMPANY, who

LEGAL NOTICES.

property of any portion thereof by way of request, charge, encumbrance, exchange, lease, license, mortgage, maintenance, possession, sale, share, trust, wahiwat or otherwise whatsoever are hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at his office in "Tendavari Building" at

District Indiana, within 14 days of the date of the sale thereof, otherwise the sale is void.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.
All that piece or parcel of land or ground
situate in the village of Aurar near Manu
Ialuka Saisette, Registration Sub-district
Bangra, District Anand, admeasuring 2.

square yards or thereabouts and being partly
land entered in the Record of Rights of India
and the Collector's books of Revenue of India
as bearing Survey number 101, No. 3 are
acre and 11 guntas, Assessment Rs.
and all which land is bounded as follows:—

and all which land is bounded as follows
that is on or towards the North by the Riv
on or towards the South by the land of Ila
chandra Saknaram, on or towards the East
the land of Gasu Maryan, and on or towa
the West by the land of Ilari Ramji, and

Dated this 24th day of September, 1920,
GAJANAN SADASHIV PATEL, LL.B.,
Vakil, High Court

NOTIFICATION OF SALE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN
His Holiness SARDAR SYEDNA TAH

ALL persons having claims against or to said properties by way of inheritance, mortgage, sale, gift, lease, lien, charge, trust or otherwise, are hereby notified to present the same to the undersigned, free from all incumbrances.

otherwise howsoever, are hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at No. 12 to 16, Oak Lane, Fort, Bombay, within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the purchase will be completed without regard to such claims and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.
FIRSTLY:—All that piece or parcel of
and ground rent land together with the sit-
usage and premises standing thereon, situ-
lying and being in Israel Mohola or De
Third Row or Street, in Mandvi, in the S
Registration District of Bombay, contain-

by admeasurement 139 square yards or thereabouts, be the same little more or less bounded as follows:—On the East form by the house of Rajana Kamati and now the Israel Cross Lane, on the South form by Israel Mohalla or Don Tad Third Row now by the property of Jaffer Gangjee, on

west by a passage called Don Tad Cross L and the house of Lalji Sumar and on the North by the house of Rubbus, and which said premises are registered in the Books of the Director of Land Revenue under New No. 1 Old Survey No. 364 and New Survey No. 2949, and which said premises are assessed under Ward No. 2075, Street 1214, and which said premises are now in

SECONDLY—All that piece or parcel of land together with messuages and premises standing thereon, lying and being in Tantanpura Street in the Registration District of Bombay, containing by admeasurement 86-1/9 square feet or thereabouts, and registered in the name of the Collector of Land Revenue under

Ward No. 1891, Street No. 37-39, and
said premises are bounded as follows:—On
North by the property of Iamail Mahomed,
the South by Don Tad Cross Lane, and
West by the property of Abdullahi Khan,
and on the East by the property of Kassa
Jarraj Perbergh, and what said pre-
mise is in the occupation of the tenants of
said landlord.

Dated this 3rd day of September, 1920.

MEHTA LALJI & CO.
Sole Agents

18, Oak Lane, Fort St. George.

LEGAL NOTICES

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Mr. MAHADEV BHAGORAO GHUGE and CHANDRABAI, widow of Bhagorao Ghuge, have contracted to sell the undermentioned property to our client.

Any person having any claim or interest in or to the said property by way of sale, mortgage, trust, lien, possession, gift, inheritance, lease or otherwise, is hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at 29, Church Street, Fort, Bombay, and to the Collector of Municipal Rates and Taxes within 15 days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed without regard to any such claim and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of Foras land or ground situate at Grant Road, within the Registration District and Sub-District of Bombay, measuring 14 square yards or thereabouts, bearing, Collector's Old Nos. 399, 399, Collector's New Nos. 13901, 13903, Old Survey No. C/171 and New Survey No. 1/6994, with the messuage, tenement or dwelling house standing thereon, which is assessed by the Assessor and Collector of Municipal Rates and Taxes and was formerly under E. Ward No. 232 and now under Ward No. 232, Street No. 301, and bounded as follows:—That is to say, on or towards the East by the property of Hri. Tukaram, on or towards the South by the said Grant Road and on or towards the North by the property of Manchabai, widow of Hargovan Balgovan, on the West by the property of Devidas Lalubhai.

Dated this 3rd day of September, 1920.

KHANDERAO LAUD & MEHTA,
Purchaser's Attorneys.

4718

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Sir DORABJI JAMSHEDJI TATA and others, the Trustees of the Deed of Settlement, dated the 7th day of March, 1916, all of Bombay, Parsi Inhabitants, have agreed to sell to our client the property hereinafter mentioned.

All persons having any claim or demand against the said property by way of mortgage, gift, sale, trust, possession, inheritance, lease, lien or otherwise, is hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at 123, Esplanade Road, Fort, within 14 days from the date hereof, as otherwise the purchase will be completed without reference to any such claim or demand and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of Inam Khoti land or ground with all buildings and premises standing thereon, situate at Jui Tara, in the Registration Sub-District of Bandora, in Thana Collectorate, and containing by admeasurement five acres thirty-one and one-fourth guntas or thereabouts, more or less, and registered by the Collector of Thana under Survey No. 22, Pot No. 1, and bounded on or towards the North by the property of Jambhai Edaji Shetkar, on or towards the East by Public Road, on or towards the South by the property of M. D. Souza and on or towards the West by the Sea Shore.

WADIA GHANDY & Co.,
Attorneys for the Purchaser.
123, Esplanade Road, Fort,
Bombay, 3rd September, 1920.

4704

NOTICE.

RE. SALE OF LAND AT VILE PARLE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that FARSOO BAPTIST MISQUIT and BAPTAS FARSOO MISQUIT, of Vile Parle, Inhabitants, have contracted to sell the undermentioned property to our client.

All persons having any claim against or to the said property by way of inheritance, mortgage, sale, gift, lease, lien, charge, trust, main tenance, easement or otherwise, is hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at No. 43, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay, within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed without reference to such claim and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of Ganvati land, situate at Alambur, Vile Parle, to the East of the Railway Station, and bearing Survey No. 72, Faint Nos. 15-21-26, and admeasuring 2,639 square yards, and bounded as follows, that is to say, on the East by the property of Gustin Anton Ghosal, on the South by the property of Gustin Anton Ghosal and Jagannath Bhasker Rega, on the North by the property of Nicol Dena Ghosal and on the West by the property of Purshuram Narayan Natar and Jagannath Bhasker Rega.

Dated this 3rd day of September, 1920.
FANDIA & Co.,
Purchaser's Attorneys.

4699

NOTICE

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Messrs. NARAYAN VISHWANATH MANDLIK and JOSEPH NISSIM, Joint Executors for the Indian Estate of late Mrs. O. V. Muller of Liphinstown College, Bombay, have contracted to sell to our client the undermentioned property.

Any person having any claim or interest in or to the said property by way of sale, mortgage, trust, lease, lien, possession, gift, inheritance, or otherwise, is hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office in Cook's Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed without any regard to any such claim and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of land together with the building thereon known as "LALU" situate at Malcompeth in the Registration Sub-District of Bandora, containing by admeasurement eleven acres and eight guntas, the same a little more or less and described and particularly defined as Survey No. 32, 240 and part of 3 in a certain map in the Office of the Collector of Satara and which said piece of land so far as Survey No. 245 is concerned is bounded, on the East by Survey No. 5 and Public Road, on the West by Public Road, on the North by Survey No. 223 and on the South by Public Road and so far as Survey No. 32 is concerned is bounded, on the East by Public Road, on the West by Survey No. 210 and on the South by Nallah Survey No. 10 and is situated in the Registration District of Satara.

Dated this 30th day of August, 1920.
PATEL & EZEKIEL,
Purchaser's Attorneys.

4570

LEGAL NOTICES.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE-AT BOMBAY.

ORDINARY ORIGINAL CIVIL JURISDICTION.

IN THE MATTER OF THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VII OF 1913 AND OF THE STANDARD OIL MILLS CO. LD.

Messrs. NELSEY DEVSEY & Co. Petitioners.
NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that a petition for the winding up of the above-named Company by the High Court of Judicature at Bombay was on the 2nd day of September 1920 presented to the Honble Justice Sir Chinnai H. Seaward by the above-named Petitioners Messrs. Nelsey Dewsey and Company a creditor of the said Company and that the said petition is directed to be heard before the Court on Saturday the 25th day of September, 1920, and any creditor or contributory of the said Company, desirous to oppose the making of an order for the winding up of the said Company under the above Act, should appear at the time of hearing by himself or his Counsel for that purpose, and a copy of the petition will be furnished to any creditor or contributory of the said Company requiring the same, by the undersigned, on payment of the regulated charges for the same.

Dated this 2nd day of September, 1920.
MANCHERSHA & NARMADASHANKER,
Attorneys for the Petitioners,
No. 13, Military Square Lane, Fort Bombay.

4695

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that SADASIV BHAGU SAMANT, of Arnala, Taluka District Thana, has contracted to sell to our client the property hereinafter mentioned.

All persons having any claim or interest thereto or therein or in or to any part thereof, either by way of gift, inheritance, mortgage, charge, lease, lien, trust or otherwise, is hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at 123, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay, within 14 days from the date hereof, failing which the said sale will be completed without reference to any such claim or interest and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

(A) All that vacant piece or parcel of Government land or ground situate, lying and being at Arnala in the Sub-Registration District of Agashi, District of Thana and assessed by the Collector of Thana under Survey No. 718, Pot No. 1, admeasuring above 9 acres and 17 Guntas assessment Rs. 8 being a moiety of a piece of land admeasuring about 18 Acres and 34 Guntas standing in the name of Jagannath Chinnai Samant and bounded as follows that is to say, on or towards the East by Survey No. 765, on or towards the West by Sea, on or towards the South by half the portion of land out of Survey No. 718 and on or towards the North by Survey No. 719.

and

(A) All that piece or parcel of Government land or ground, situate, lying and being at Arnala in the Registration Sub-District of Agashi District of Thana and assessed by the Collector of Thana under Survey No. 718, Pot No. 2 admeasuring about 9 Acres and 3 Guntas assessment Rs. 10 and bounded as follows that is to say, on or towards the East by Survey No. 765; on or towards the West by Survey No. 838; on or towards the North by Survey No. 718 and on or towards the South by the boundary line of Vatar.

Dated this 3rd day of September, 1920.
MOTICHAND & DEVIDAS,
Purchaser's Attorneys.

4705

NOTICE.

THE public are hereby warned against purchasing the undermentioned property forming plots 12, 13 and 14 of a certain estate at the corner of Forset Street and Gowanahank Road, formerly belonging to Sir Adamjee Keshjee and now to Messrs. Keshjee, Rajshah and Karmali Hasham. The said three plots have been contracted to be sold to our client Mr. F. Manekji, who has in his turn contracted to sell the same to our client Mr. S. D. Davar. The said Messrs. Keshjee, Rajshah and Karmali Hasham are trying to back out of the contract and our clients are about to file a suit against them for specific performance. In these circumstances, if anyone agrees to purchase the said three plots or any of them he will do so at his own risk.

All that piece of pensions and tax land, situate at Forset Street, without the Fort, in the island and Registration Sub-District of Bombay, containing by admeasurement 4,168 square yards marked on the plan of the said estate as plots 12, 13 and 14 (and forming part of a larger piece of land which is registered in the books of the Collector of Land Revenue under Old No. 406 and 442, New Nos. A/2290 and A/2219, Old Survey No. 38 and New Survey No. 7/7006 and assessed by the Municipality under D Ward Nos. 3411, 3412, 3413 and 3414 and Street Nos. 224-12 and 2 Forset Street) and bounded as follows, that is to say, on or towards the north east by plot No. 11, on or towards the South by a proposed road and beyond that by plots 22, 23, 24 and 25, on or towards the West by plot 15 and on or towards the north east by plot 10 and partly by proposed road.

Dated this 3rd day of September, 1920.
JAMSHEDJI RUSTOMJI & DEVIDAS,
Purchaser's Attorneys.

4661

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Mr. GOPALDAS TRIKAMJI JIVANDAS has contracted to sell to our client the undermentioned property. Any person having any claim or interest in or to the said property by way of sale, mortgage, trust, lien, possession, gift, inheritance, lease, or otherwise, is hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at 13, Nanabhai Lane, Fort, Bombay, within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed without any regard to any such claim and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of Government leasehold land or ground being part of Survey No. 82 situate at Versova in the Registration Sub-District of Bandora, in the Taluka of Salsette, District Thana, together with the messuage, tenement or bungalow standing thereon, containing by admeasurement 34 Guntas and bearing entry No. 207. Non-agricultural Survey No. 14, Survey No. 82 and bounded, on or towards the North by the building site No. 15, on or towards the South by the building site No. 13, on or towards the West by the Sea Shore and on or towards the East by a Public Road.

Dated this 3rd day of September, 1920.
MOTICHAND & DEVIDAS,
Purchaser's Attorneys.

4710

LEGAL NOTICE.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE-AT BOMBAY.

IN THE MATTER OF THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VII OF 1913 AND IN THE MATTER OF THE MAC DONALD ROSEBERRY MILLS, LTD.

(In Liquidation).
NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that a Dividend of 12 annas per share has been declared payable to the contributories who have paid the Allotment money prior to the Liquidation, pursuant to the Balance Order taken out by the Liquidator and to whom notices have been already posted. The contributories are requested to apply for the same, if they have not already done so, on or before the 30th September, 1920. The amount remaining unclaimed thereafter will be disposed of in accordance with the Orders of the High Court.

Dated at Bombay, this 1st day of Sept., 1920.
N. H. MOOS,
Official Liquidator.

4694

SALES BY AUCTION.

BENNETT & CO.

AN UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY.

AUCTION SALE of Very Valuable Vacant Prices of Land at the Corner of Sandhurst Road and Hughes Road Chowpati.

TO-MORROW (TUESDAY) the 7th September at 4.30 p.m. (S.T.) Messrs. BENNETT and Co. will put to Public Auction by order of the Owner, in the premises the following very valuable vacant piece of land. Suitable for big show room in front and factory behind.

All that vacant piece or parcel of land or ground of Pension and Tax tenure situate, lying and being on the junction of Sandhurst Road and Hughes Road in the Island and Registration Sub-District of Bombay, containing by admeasurement 1500 square yards of thereabouts and registered in the Books of the Collector of Land Revenue along with other land under Old No. 86, 107, 177, 9, 26, 27, 28 and 29, New Nos. 744, 871, 940, 34, 133, 100, Old Survey No. 173, 178 and New Survey No. Portion of 1997, 8001/2 and bounded as follows that is to say, on or towards the East by Sandhurst Road, on or towards the West by the property of Shunayrayan Surajmal Nemani and there, on or towards the North by Hughes Road, and on or towards the South by the property of G. K. Mahatre and which said premises are assessed by the Municipality of Bombay under D Ward Nos. 2359 (1) and Street No. 4.

For further particulars and conditions of sale apply to Messrs. Matbahai Jamietram and Madan. Solicitors or to the undersigned.

AUCTION SALE OF VERY VALUABLE

LARGE BUNGALOW with very Rich Furniture, Electric Light, Dynamo, Etc., on Bund Road, in the Civil Lines at Poon.

Under instructions from Messrs. Sheriff Dewjee Canjee and Dawoodbhai Nency, the executors of the last will and testament of Dawoodbhai Fazalibhai, deceased, Messrs. BENNETT and Co. on SUNDAY, the 12th instant at 5 p.m. (S.T.) sell by Public Auction, in the premises, the following very valuable Bungalow with very rich furniture, electric light, dynamo, etc., etc.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuage, tenement or dwelling house bungalows, No. 25, Bund Garden Road, and other premises standing thereon, situate, lying and being on the Bund Road in the Civil Lines in Poon, the Registration Sub-district of Bombay, containing by admeasurement 4 bighas or one lac thirty thousand five hundred square feet or thereabouts, and which said piece or parcel of land bears Survey No. 24, and which said bungalow and premises are assessed under No. 133, and bounded as follows, that is to say, on or towards the East by the Bund Road, on or towards the West by Keshnathi land and by property formerly belonging to Moses Senks and since to Mundi Krishna Ayub Mudiar, on or towards the North by the property belonging to Mahomed Siddick and Lhanjisha Jamsetti and beyond that by the road leading to the Boat Club and on or towards the South by the property of Madie Krishna Ayub together with the furniture, crockery, glassware, motor engine, dynamo and fittings and other articles lying in the said bungalow and premises under sale.

For further particulars and conditions of sale, apply to Messrs. Matbahai Jamietram and Madan, Solicitors, or to the undersigned.

AUCTION SALE OF VERY VALUABLE

LANDED PROPERTY (at Ghoghari Mohalla) at the Corner of Null Bazar having (7) Seven shops.

ON TUESDAY, the 14th September, at 5 p.m. (S.T.) Messrs. BENNETT and Co. will put to Public Auction, in the premises by order of the owner, the following very valuable landed property having (7) seven shops.

All that piece or parcel of Government quit and ground, lying and being together with the messuage, tenement or dwelling house standing thereon, situate, lying and being at Ghoghari Mohalla at the corner of Null Bazar without the Fort, and in the Registration Sub-district of Bombay containing by admeasurement 204 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the book of the Collector of Land Revenue under Old No. 2577, New No. 5597, Old Survey No. 1705, and New Survey No. 917 and assessed by the Assessor and Collector of Municipal Rates and Taxes under D Ward No. 6219, (1), Street No. 189 and 201, and bounded as follows, that is to say, on or towards the East by the property of Jacob Gopi, on or towards the West by the said Ghoghari Mohalla, on or towards the North by Bora Street, and on or towards the South by the property of Choochawala Abderaman Essa.

For further particulars and conditions of sale, apply to the undersigned.

BENNETT & CO.
Bombay, 6th September, 1920.

MENSSE & CO.

AUCTIONEERS.
No. 35, HUNTER STREET, FORT.
Telephone No. 4989.

AUCTION SALE of Valuable and Unclaimed Booked and Unbooked Articles.

Under instructions from the B. B. and C. I. Railway Company, and in accordance with Sections 55 and 56 of the Indian Railways Act IX of 1890 Messrs. MENSSE and Co. will sell by Public Auction on SATURDAY, the 11th September, 1920, at 12 noon (S.T.) at the Railway Company's Goods Depot, Colaba next to the Tramway Co., Offices.

A quantity of booked and unbooked parcels, articles, clothing, cloth, umbrellas, caps, etc., etc.

A descriptive list of booked articles can be seen at any station on the broad gauge section of the B. B. and C. I. Railway.

AUCTION SALE of 125 Bales Raised Coloured Cotton Blankets.

Messrs. MENSSE and Co. will sell by Public Auction, on the 7th September, 1920, at 3.30 p.m. (S.T.) at Mulli Jetha Market, Champa Gali, near the well, by order of Messrs. The Mathuradas Mills, Ltd., and on account of the risk of the concerned, the following goods:—

125 bales Raised Coloured Cotton Blankets 46 in. by 76 in. by 14 lbs., each bale containing 200 pieces.

MENSSE & CO.,
Auctioneers.
Bombay, 6th September, 1920.

SALES BY AUCTION.

CRAWFORD & CO.

AUCTIONEERS & COMMISSION AGENTS
BOMBAY.
No. 10, Apollo Street, Fort Bombay
Tel. No. 821.

Messrs. CRAWFORD and Co. will sell by Public Auction on WEDNESDAY, (the 8th instant at 3.30 p.m.) at Colaba G. I. P. Railway goods yards by the order of the Insurance Company concerned out of the consignments of Mr. Balchand Ugerchand the following bales:—

36 bales of Birar Cotton of Tapuna district slightly damaged by fire and water.

N. B.—A deposit of 25 per cent. will be required at the time of sale.

WEEKLY SALE ON TUESDAY.

Messrs. CRAWFORD and Co. will sell on TUESDAY, the 7th instant at 2.30 p.m., at their rooms, 16, Apollo Street, Fort, the furniture etc., etc.

13 the estate of Kenneth Mac-I-Kemp, Esq., official Assignee of Bombay and the Assignee of the estate and effects of the following insolvents:—

The estate of the insolvent Thakors Kanji 1-3 sales twice and two small bundles.

The estate of the insolvent Hemraj Jerran, 38 tins of Animate Lye Majenta.

The estate of the insolvent Rajarajmal Indago Shah—Copper and brass utensils.

The insolvent Sorabji Ldaji Patel tables chairs, copying press, books etc., etc.

The insolvent Ganeshdas Gangadash: Chandlers bandis, etc., etc.

By the order of the Postmaster-General of Bombay the dead articles from the dead letter office:—

The woolen and Cotton clothes, sundry samples, country boots, picture post cards used stamps watches, castor seeds, etc., etc.,

Auctioneers and Commission Agents.
No. 16, Apollo Street, Fort Bombay.
Tel. No. 821.

A RARE OPPORTUNITY TO CAPITALISTS.

AUCTION SALE OF A VALUABLE NEWLY-BUILT LANDED PROPERTY, at Laburnum Road, New Gaudavi.

Under instructions from Messrs. Shroff and Vachha, Solicitors for the Vendors and on account and at the risk of the defaulting purchasers Messrs. CRAWFORD & Co. will sell by Public Auction, on TUESDAY, the 7th September, 1920, at 5 p.m. (S.T.) on the following valuable landed property:—

PARTICULARS OF PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of leasehold land or ground belonging to the Bombay Improvement Trust, leased to Mr. J. J. Marshland under a

Indenture of Agreement bearing date the 11th day of April, 1911, and expressed to be made between the trustees for the Improvement of the City of Bombay of the one part and the said J. J. Marshland of the other part and now belonging to Mr. Shavakshaw Dimshaw Davar, admeasuring 735 square yards or thereabouts, bearing Plot Nos. 51, 52 (part of New Survey

No. 7335 and situate at Laburnum Road, in the Registration District and Sub-District of Bombay, together with messuage, tenement or building standing thereon, assessed by Municipality of Bombay under "D" Ward No. 2833 (16a), Street No. (), and bounded on the East by the property of the said J. J. Marshland, on the South by the City Improvement Trust, on the South by the said Laburnum Road, on the East by the property of Ardesir D. Dubash and on the West by the property belonging to Husseinbhai Heptola.

For further particulars and conditions of sale apply to Messrs. Shroff and Vachha, Solicitors for the Vendors at their Office at Hornby Road, Fort, or to the undersigned.

CRAWFORD & CO.,
Auctioneers.

Bombay 6th September, 1920.

MESSRS. SORABJEE COWASJEE & CO.

Auctioneers and Commission Agents.
(21, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay).

SALE BY ORDER OF THE CONTROLLER (SALES) BOARD OF INDUSTRIES AND MUNITIONS.

Messrs. SORABJEE COWASJEE and Co. will by order of the Controller (Sales) Board of Industries and Munitions sell by Public Auction on WEDNESDAY, the 8th September 1920, at 2.30 p.m. (S.T.) at the Government Stores Depot, Hajee Bunder, Sewri, a large lot of miscellaneous goods consisting of:

galvanized drums of 130 gallons capacity; scrap glass; country chalk, a lot of Bolts and Nuts; Paley blocks, Blacksmith and Tinsmith tools, Antique Faras Pichas, Water tank 4 x 2 x 6, Scrap cutting of expanded metal, Zinc sheets hoop iron, Hand carts, old Motor, tyre and tubes, Horse shoe nails, tin, Ratchet Jack, W. P. Boiler tubes, Rain water pipes; Fire wood cut pieces of railing empty K. O. tins and drums; empty jars tin, steel kegs, new and second hand, G. I. Drums, Kitchen lamps, etc.

The goods can be inspected at the above Government Depot between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. daily before the sale.

Full particulars of the goods can be obtained of the Controller (Sales) of his office at New Customs House, Ballard Pier or of the undersigned.

A deposit of 25 per cent. will be required at the time of knocking the lot to the buyer and the balance shall be paid and the goods removed within fourteen days from the day of sale. Other conditions will be declared at the time of sale.

SALE OF 545 BAGS MAURITIUS SUGAR (CRYSTAL).

Messrs. SORABJEE COWASJEE and Co. will sell by public auction on TUESDAY, the 7th day of September, 1920 at 3 p.m. (S.T.) at the Depot of the Andul Laddi Usman, 27, Raza Syed Street, Khan Bazaar by his order and on account and at the risk of the Defaulting Buyer Dawood Mohi:

545 bags Mauritius Sugar (Crystal) as under:—No. 6, 18 bags, No. 5, 3 bags No. 15, 300 bags, No. 12, 68 bags, No. 3, 80, bags, and No. 14, 7 bags.

A deposit of 25 per cent. will be required at the time of knocking the lot to the buyers and the balance shall be paid and the goods cleared within three days from the day of sale from the Ware Bunder Bonded Warehouse where the goods are now lying.

SORABJEE COWASJEE & CO.,
Auctioneers.

Bombay, 6th September, 1920.

MESSRS. MEHTA & CO.

ON Government and G. I. P. Railway Lines

AUCTION SALE OF 5 CASES KHANJRI TASA.

On WEDNESDAY, the 8th inst. at 3 p.m. Messrs. MEHTA & Co. will sell by Public Auction at the open ground opposite the gate of the Dharanrajgully at Champa, gully Mulji Jetha Market by order of Seth Ranchhodas Lavji and on account and at the risk of Seth Hajee Ebrahim Tyeb.

5 cases of Khanjri Tassa 43 inches of Markandras office.

MEHTA & CO.,
Auctioneers.

Bombay, 6th Sept. 1920.

AMUSEMENTS.

MADAN THEATRES, LD. ATTRACTIONS.

THE EXCELSIOR

EVERY EVENING at 9-30 p.m. MATINEE SUN. at 5-30 p.m.

The H. B. Waring Company

In a Powerful Repertoire of FAMOUS PLAYS.

To-Night at 9-30 p.m.

"The Merchant of Venice"

To-Night at 9-30 p.m.

A Glorious Production. Superb Costumes. Prices as usual. PLANS at ROSE & Co. upto 6 p.m. After 7 p.m. Plan for TO-NIGHT'S ATTRACTION at the Theatre. Seats booked by Telephone No. 288 must be taken up before 9-15 p.m. sharp.

THURSDAY NEXT, 9th SEPTEMBER at 5-30 p.m. SPECIAL MATINEE

"ROMEO AND JULIET"

Starting Next Friday 10th September

(THE AUSPICIOUS PATETI DAY).

Messrs. K. D. and Brothers

have the pleasure to announce that CECIL B. DEMILLE'S

GREAT PRODUCTION

"Male and Female"

A Paramount-Art

POONA RACING SEASON

BIG MEETING: SECOND DAY.

ROUBAIX WINS THE AGA KHAN'S CUP

Though there was a full attendance yesterday at the Poona races it would have been far greater had the fields in the most important events been larger. As it is many persons declined. The weather was fine, though it drizzled occasionally. Barring the two big events of the day, the sport was interesting enough to afford keen speculation. It is a pity that in the Poona Plate a bad start should have spoilt an already poor field—great disappointment ruled as Notbutwell the favourite suffered at the start.

Proceedings started with the 2nd Division of the Galway Plate, a high weight handicap for horses in the 3rd Division, distance 10 furlongs. Christmas Holiday and Millmount declined leaving a field of fifteen to start. From the manner Radins won the Landdown Plate he was selected as the best candidate in this field. Mametz also found many supporters. This race was won by Ludica who was favourite in the Landdown Plate where she ran unplaced. Yesterday she received the table and won pulling up while Radins ran a bad fourth. Mametz, Beggar Prince is improving at every run. The Second Division of the same plate was won by Japanese Pine. Maiden Plate, the champion country-bred placed third in this race. Decora proved again that he is more than he can carry and Lady Myra, the favourite succumbed under her weight. Two Mysore horses, Ben Gill, placed second.

It is a pity that the field in H. H. the First Aga Khan's Commemorative Plate was so thinly reduced. This plate in the past always used to attract numerous candidates but this year, strange to say, only 5 started. Dictate declining Collingwood had nothing to oppose him and he consequently won easily from Mandil.

On Leave and Archer declined in the Autumn Plate of 7 furlongs leaving a field of eleven to dispute the issue. Mr. Kelo's Bracket was favourite but Anthracite also found many backers while Harrison's connections plunged on Penny Pie. Bucko was heavily backed and Dori thought out for the first time this season won by no means neglected. Brown rode Penny Pie and this circumstance gave great courage to his supporters. He won handsomely from Penny Pie and the stable companion placed third. Anthracite shot his bolt as usual before home to the great chagrin of her numerous following.

The Arab Pony Derby saw a large field of Arab ponies out—no less than twenty-eight starters took part in this race. In such a crowd the public was quite at sea to spot the winner. Never Mind and Summerton were perhaps the most fancied candidates, but as good deal of money went on Dublin, Grey Reynard, Coronation and America—Many issued here it that Taj would annex this prize and strange to say many neglected Waterloo on whom Sugar Lambert, the crack Australian light weight had the mount. Winter the able horseman of Lambert the backers of Waterloo had little cause to be anxious though Never Mind was prominent throughout. Waterloo won a fine race by $\frac{1}{2}$ a length.

The Poona Plate another term event, a meagre field out. In this race Notbutwell, in spite of his weight, was considered the best candidate. Christmas Holiday, however, who was well supported by his connections won in a common canter from the favourite. On Leave the hope of many again failed to be in the picture as he was badly left at the post.

The Moderate Plate, a high weight handicap for Arab ponies 14 hands and under in the 1st and 2nd Division saw a field of nine out. Mechanic, Tit Bite, Golsan, Battlexe Chrysanthemum and Diamond King were almost equally fancied. Diamond King proved to be the winner while the much fancied Golsan only managed to secure third place.

The big event of the day, the Aga Khan's Cup, a term race for Horses was a disappointment for the standpoint of field as only four ran. It is pity that for such a beautiful cup and the fine prize to the winner more candidates did not compete. These terms races, as we have repeatedly pointed out, are failures in Western India whatever the racing authorities may think about such events. It is high time that more favourable conditions were framed for such events. I admit that terms races are necessary for acclimatization of horses imported to this country, but surely it is possible to frame more advantageous conditions than the weight for age and class at present in vogue. Roubaix his 9 stones in this race. His victory was a foregone conclusion. This horse is a worthy progeny of his famous sire, Minoru.

The most successful jockeys of the day were Townsend, who won two races; Harrison; Brown; Stokes; Lambert; Huxley and Bullock. Mr. Ryan trained two winners.

THE GALWAY PLATE. (Div. II.)—Distance 11 miles.
Mr. S. A. Fezi's LAODICEA 7.8, Townsend
Mr. M. H. Sanjana's BEGGAR PRINCE, 7.5, Northmore
Mr. T. M. Thaddens' MAMETZ, 9.3, Ruiz.
Mr. A. M. Fawcett's RADINS, 8.11, Owner.
Did not run:—Christmas Holiday, Millmount.

The Race:—Radins was first to break the

line followed by Beggar Prince and Mametz. Roubaix showed for a brief space and petered away. At the 3rd furlong Laodicea came forward, in the straight she passed the leader to win by $\frac{1}{2}$ neck, 2 lengths, short head.

Favourites Radins and Mametz.
Time:—2 mins. 12.2.5 secs.
Total paid:—Win Rs. 184; places Rs. 48.5, Rs. 31.8 and Rs. 16.
2nd Total paid:—Win Rs. 86.8; places Rs. 20; Rs. 18.8 and Rs. 8.
Trainer: M. Ryan.
THE GALWAY PLATE. (Div. I.)—Distance 11 miles.

Mr. Pao's JAPANESE PINE, 8.0, Harrison
H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, BEN GILL, 7.5, Purtoosingh
Mr. M. Shorpad's MAIDEN PALM, 8.4, Brown
Mr. T. M. Thaddens' GENTLE SAXON, 8.5, Ruiz
Did not run:—Sugarey Sata, Birthday Clothes, Trezidella.

The Race:—Japanese Pine lead from start to finish Gentle Saxon and Ben Gill attempted to chase her but nothing could make an impression on her, she walked in 21 lengths, 11 lengths, 11 lengths. Maiden Palm made bid for third place.

Favourite:—Lady Myra.
Time:—3 mins. 12secs.
Total paid:—Win Rs. 102.8; places Rs. 26, Rs. 19 and Rs. 17.

2nd Total paid:—Win Rs. 44.8; places Rs. 11.8, Rs. 9 and Rs. 7.8.
Trainer:—T. Harrison.

H. H. THE FIRST AGA KHAN'S COMMEMORATION PLATE. Distance 11 miles.
Mr. F. J. Mulla's KEROZE'S COLLINGWOOD, 9.5, Stokes
Mr. Ali bin Talib's MANDIL, 8.8, Ruiz.
The Yuvareja of Kolapur's KAYIO, 8.9, Brown
Did not run:—Dictate.

The Race:—Mandil was first to get away followed by Palladin and Dominor, they practically ran in this order till they entered the straight where Collingwood challenged and drawing away won easily by length, 2 lengths and 5 lengths.

Favourite:—Collingwood.
Total paid:—Win Rs. 15; places Rs. 12, and Rs. 15.
2nd Total paid:—Win Rs. 8; places Rs. 6.8 and Rs. 9.8.

Trainer:—Moosa.
THE AUTUMN PLATE.—Distance 7 furlongs.

Mr. Kelo's WE TWO, 9.5, Brown
Mr. Pao's PANNY PIE, 8.3, Harrison
Mr. Kelo's CRUSHED GLASS, 8.0, McPherson
Messrs. Hastings and Gair's ANTHRACITE, 8.7, Townsend
Did not run:—On Leave, Archer.

The Race:—From a good start Penny Pie and Anthracite made the pace with Crushed Glass in attendance. We Two was Mandy and Bucko in the race. Penny Pie got the advantage at the turn and entered the straight leading. We Two challenged and overhauled the leader to win by $\frac{1}{2}$ length, 1 length, 1 length.

Favourites:—Penny Pie and Anthracite.
Time:—2 mins. 29.3.5 secs.
Total paid:—Win Rs. 43; places Rs. 36, Rs. 25, and Rs. 32.

2nd Total paid:—Rs. 25.8; places Rs. 20, Rs. 15 and Rs. 28.
Trainer:—Byramjee Rustumji.

THE ARAB PONY DERBY.—Distance 7 furlongs.

Mr. Yuvareja of Kolapur's WATERLOO, 7.9, Lambert
Mr. A. S. Fezi's NEVERMIND, 7.13, Townsend
Mr. Hoehang Jambhai's GINGER, 8.8, Barnett
Mr. Heath's ARTHUR, 6.13, J. J. Meekings

Did not run:—Chrysanthemum, Beadmaker.
The Race:—This large field was out away on even terms when Taj and Grey Deynard showed the way to Dublin Prince Day and America. Waterloo and Nevermind were in the front but very hand in the straight Waterloo drew out and Nevermind went wide. Waterloo came in an easy winner by $\frac{1}{2}$ a length, $\frac{1}{2}$ length, 2 lengths.

Favourites:—Dublin and Nevermind.
Time:—1 min. 23 secs.
Total paid:—Win Rs. 116.8; places Rs. 37, Rs. 31 and Rs. 83.8.

2nd Total paid:—Win Rs. 62; places Rs. 15.8, Rs. 14.8 and Rs. 49.8.
Trainer:—Byramjee Rustumjee.

THE AGA KHAN'S CUP Distance 1 mile.
Mr. M. Goculdas' ROUBAIX, 9.0, Huxley
Mr. R. S. Khan's SENPARISON, 9.0, Trahan
Mr. T. M. Thaddens' FIRST FLIER, 9.7, Ruiz

Did not run:—Dademoiselle Foch.
The Race:—Senparison cut the pace followed by First Flier and Deringham. Deringham gave up soon and Senparison remained as the front for the greater part of the journey near home Roubaix challenged and won comfortably by $\frac{1}{2}$ length, $\frac{1}{2}$ length, 3 lengths.

Favourite:—Roubaix.
Time:—2 min. 29.2.5secs.
Total paid win Rs. 12. Places Rs. 12.8 and Rs. 24.

Trainer: J. Robinson.
THE POONA PLATE. Distance 1 mile.

Mr. Humble's CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY 8.4, Townsend
Mr. Mahabani of Cochin, BEAR'S NOOT, BUTBUTELL 9/9 Trahan

Mr. R. R. S.'s MADEMOISELLE FOCH 8.5, Brown
Mrs. Geddis' On Leave 8.4, Barnett

The Race:—From a bad start in which Millmount and On Leave were badly left Christmas Holiday was the first to get away. He held on advantage throughout and though Notbutwell challenged vigorously it was impossible to overtake the leader who won by $\frac{1}{2}$ length, 3 lengths and 10 lengths.

Favourite:—Notbutwell.
Time:—1 min. 43.2.5secs.
Total paid win Rs. 58.8. Places Rs. 15/8 and Rs. 12.8.

Trainer: M. Ryan.
THE MODERATE PLATE. Distance 6 furlongs.

Messrs. J. P. Caesar and J. Fiske's DIAMOND KING 7.8, W. Bullock
Messrs. Hastings and Guthrie's BITS BITS 9.0, Barnett

Mr. Mahomed Shaif's GOLSAN 7.13, Morris
Mr. J. K. Frani's CHRYSANTHEMUM 7.3, Cracknell

The Race:—From a good start Daynard showed the way to Chrysanthemum and Bits. Diamond King handy all the way. In the straight Golsan jointly with Diamond King secured the advantage by a short head from Bits. Golsan a neck behind.

Favourite:—(S verbal).
Time:—1 min. 24.2.5secs.
Total paid win Rs. 56.8. Places Rs. 21, Rs. 26 and Rs. 17.

Trainer: E. A. Churchward.

Economic & Financial Review.

BUNGLING INDIAN FINANCES.

[REV. "KASTODAS"]

The Finance Minister to the Government of India introduced, after all, a Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act of 1906 by means of which sovereigns and half-sovereigns which now stand at the rate of Rs. 15 for one sovereign shall cease to be legal tender pending the alterations to be made in the rate in pursuance of the Currency Committee's Report. This particular recommendation of the Currency Committee was strongly protested against and most of all by Mr. Dadiba Dalal in his minority report. Recommendations of the Currency Committee were discredited within a month of their being made by the dropping of silver from the heights to which it had risen. The Government of India, however, based their policy on this discredited report and wrought incalculable loss on the country by measures like the sale of Reverse Councils. Not satisfied even with this and not realising that the Currency Committee proved themselves the sorriest of all the prophets it is now attempted to translate the main recommendation of the Currency Committee regarding change in the standard of rupee into a legislative enactment. The Hon. Mr. Hailey still harps on the high prices of silver as an excuse for his new Bill and observes that the 10-rupee ratio now sought for would give that protection to our currency which came from the wider range of the purchasing power of silver and would indeed afford an absolute security up to the price of 63d. an ounce. There have arisen no circumstances, however, which can justify Mr. Hailey, in proposing to provide a remedy for a situation which may not arise at all. Silver of all commodities is largely affected by political currents in the United States and if Senator Harding is elected President and gets triumph for the Republican party, it may be taken for granted that silver will be a drug in the market. The Pittman's Act notwithstanding silver will have to come down and the result will be that this country will be committed to a revolutionary change in the currency in anticipation of an eventuality which may not or will not arise.

Mr. Tata's Warning

The Hon. Mr. R. D. Tata has justified his election as representative of the Indian commercial community by taking a bold stand with regard to the Coinage Act Amendment Bill in pointing out that he was in the Council to voice the opinion of the Indian commercial community who had in the past six months been representing in vigorous terms against the currency policy being dictated from Whitehall for the interests of foreigners rather than Indians. Mr. Hailey naturally resented such a criticism calling it baseless and unjustified. Any one, however, who has followed the policy of the Secretary of State since he began arranging a period of the Currency Committee and successive steps taken by him in pursuance of that Committee's recommendations will be struck by the fact that it was not the interests of India which reigned supreme before him, but the interests of London financiers. Mr. Tata deplored that the future of India's currency was decided five thousand miles away by a Committee with only one Indian which did not take evidence in India. He was naturally prepared for his opposition being overruled by the official block, but he gave a clear warning to the Government that if they persist in their policy and push the Bill through, there would arise financial crisis unprecedented in magnitude which would throw this country on the verge of starvation. Such warnings, however, have been given in the past and have been treated with indifference by the Finance Department. What we have to see is to secure that in the new Councils the same sort of bungling of India's finances is not allowed.

High and Low Exchange

Representatives of European Chambers naturally supported the contentions of the Hon. Mr. Hailey, alleging that sufficient time had been given to the commercial community for expressing its opinion. People like the Hon. Mr. Tata and the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber who advocated postponement of the Bill to the time of the formation of the new Councils did not mean to say that their sole argument was that sufficient time was not given for consideration. It was one of the arguments, the main argument being that the conditions existing at present were still abnormal and that it was a sheer madness to introduce revolutionary changes, while such abnormal conditions were still there. Postponement meant to them probability of some settlement when it would be possible to appraise the exact effects of the contemplated changes as also to realise as to what would be the real remedies for the situation. The Hon. Mr. Murray from Bengal trotted out the usual plea that "from 30 to 40 per cent. of merchandise imported into India consisted of textiles, chiefly cotton goods, a great bulk of which had to be paid for in sterling money and the starving masses to whom Mr. Tata had feelingly referred would get enormous advantage by paying Rs. 10 for every pound (£) worth of goods imported into India instead of paying Rs. 15." Mr. Murray forgot that these tolling masses were not going to a very extent for foreign goods and that the big agricultural classes of this country would be heavily losing, on the contrary, through the serious effects of high exchange on the export staples. Mr. Tata replied to this argument in his speeches. He

said: "I have been at some pains to look into and analyse the trade figures for the past year and I find that while the exports total 300 crores the imports total only 208 crores of which only some 12 crores can at most be considered to be goods more or less consumed by the producing classes, also that while they lose on 369 crores of exports they benefit only on some 12 crores of imports. I am firmly convinced that the result will be to rapidly further impoverish our already poor producing classes." This controversy between high and low exchange is of long-standing and despite Mr. Hailey's reasonings we have grounds to fear that the two shilling rate fixed without reason and in the teeth of Indian commercial opinion will work adversely to the interests of agriculture, trade, and industries.

The Imperial Bank Bill

The Select Committee has made some important modifications in this Bill. The principal modification is that provision has been made for the nomination of four non-officials by the Government of India, the presumption being that if there is not a sufficient Indian element on the Central Board the Government of India will fill up the deficiency by nominating Indians. It is greatly to be wished that Indian representation both on the Central and Local Boards had been provided by a statute instead of being left to the tender solicitude of the Government. Supposing there are three Indians on the Central Board in their own right. It is doubtful if the Government will then nominate even a sufficient number of Indians to make their number equal to the number of Europeans. It will be argued by the Government that the Indian representation was satisfactory and adequate. These terms are so vague that what seems adequate to one section may not appear so to another. It was because of this that the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber pressed for providing for the representation of Indians by legislation itself. The Government have, on more occasions than one, expressed themselves as being entirely committed to the principle of appointing Indians to higher posts as far as possible but in practice this promise, or one may call it, tacit understanding, is carried but to a small extent. The Imperial Bank will play a large and important part in the future development of Indian trade and industries and care needs to be taken that its administration does not fall into reactionary hands.

Committee for India Trade East Africa

A press communique says that the approval of His Majesty's Government has been received for the proposal of the Government of India for the appointment of a Trade Commissioner to represent the interests of Indian trade in East Africa. Such a step was urged last year by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and again recently by the East African deputation which waited on His Excellency the Viceroy. Both of these bodies insisted at the same time that the Trade Commissioner should be an Indian for it may be considered as next to impossible that an European Trade Commissioner stationed in such a reactionary region as East Africa would be able to keep himself free from the obsession of prejudices of his countrymen against Indian settlers and to help the latter in their difficulties and to fighting against the racial warfare of the East African Government and the European population. An Indian Commissioner, again, will be in a position to know intimately all the Indian settlers and to try to do his best for them by acting as a medium between them, the East African Government, and the Government of India. The press communique further says that the selection of a suitable officer for appointment to the post is now being considered by the Government of India. It is to be presumed that it is for an Indian officer that they are carrying on their search.

Progress of Joint Stock Companies

The progress of Joint Stock Companies in the last official year ending 31st March 1920 was a record in the history of the working of the Indian Companies' Act. The year opened with 563 working companies which rose at the close, to 700. The notable feature in this new registration was the great increase in the average authorised capital of the new companies as compared with the companies previously registered. While in pre-war times capital of five lacs of Rupees was considered a big achievement promoters now never think of starting a company with less than a crore of Rupees. Everything is going on a bigger scale. With nominal capital at a bigger figure remuneration of agents is also naturally bigger without any consideration whether the company will earn the profit or not. Share-holders have become alive to some extent to their rights and privileges but we fear they are still easily duped as a class by glowing prospectuses and visionary promises of a premium for the shares being quoted in the Share Bazar. It is this last consideration which is chiefly responsible for nominal capital of companies being put up at a very high figure for it has come to be believed rightly or wrongly that unless companies have got a big capital their shares won't be quoted on the Exchange. It was as a result of all this that the authorised capital of the companies registered during the year amounted to Rs. 1,83,41,43,518 as against Rs. 10,70,85,000 in the preceding year. The authorised capital of companies registered this year exceeded the total authorised capital of all the companies working at the close of the preceding year by Rs.

BOMBAY CITY AND SUBURBS.

ENGAGEMENTS.

TO-DAY.

Gocul Ashtami: Banks closed. (All Post Offices in Bombay will work on Sundays.)

R.L.Y. MAIL TIMINGS.

The following are the hours of arrival and departure of the principal mails and express trains at and from Victoria Terminus daily, standard time is given in all cases.

G. I. P. RAILWAY.

Mail.	Arr.	Dep.
Calcutta Mail (via Jabalpur)	12.15	12.30
Calcutta Mail (via Nagpur)	8.00	12.30
Madras Mail	8.00	11.15
Poona Mail	11.35	14.00
Enter and Exit Poona Express	11.00	14.15
Poona Mail	11.00	7.5
Dahli and Lucknow Express	9.00	11.30

H. B. and C. I. RAILWAY.

The following are the hours of arrival and departure of the principal mail and express trains at and from Colaba station daily, standard time is given in all cases.

Mail.	Arr.	Dep.
Bombay-Poona Mail	14.0	15.0
Gujarat Mail	11.10	12.30
Kathwar Express	7.45	10.00
Fast Passenger	11.30	7.30

The Up Gujarat Mail will continue to stop at Grant Road, but the Down Gujarat Mail will not stop there.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES

There will be a Requiem High Mass on Tuesday, the 7th instant, at 7.30 a.m. at the Gloria Church, Bynulla for the repose of the soul of the late P. Victor. Friends and Relatives are kindly requested to attend.

On Tuesday, the 7th instant, at 7 a.m. there will be a Requiem High Mass presided by an officer for the dead at the Church of St. Michael's, Mahim, for the repose of the soul of the late Espasiosa Carmelina, beloved wife of Mr. D. R. Mendonca. Friends and relations will kindly accept this the only intimation.

BOMBAY MARKET

COTTON.

(From Our Correspondent.)

The Marwadi bazaar opened Sept. 4, for Fine Oomra Sept., improved to Rs. 267 and declined to Rs. 263. At 3 p.m. the quotation was Rs. 265. The bazaar closed at Rs. 269, and closed at Rs. 268.

Ready cotton is steady with a moderate demand by shippers and mills.

MONEY AND SHARE MARKET.

Bar Gold Ready Rs. 22-15.6.
Bar Silver Ready Rs. 100-4.0.

EXCHANGE.

T. T. on London 1/8 3/4.
D. D. on London 1/8 13/16.
3 Mos. D/s 1/10 3/4.
D. D. Paris 4/5.
3 Mos. D/s 4/5 1/2.
T. T. on Japan Rs. 155.
60 D/s D/s Rs. 155.
American Cotton 3.55.
Paris Cross Rate Frs 51.40.
London Silver spot D. 69-0.
London Forward D. 68-12.

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

5 per cent War Loan 81.
5 per cent War Bonds due 1920-22 99.
4 per cent Conversion Loan 77.
4 per cent Terminals Loan 98.
31 per cent Paper 58.
4 per cent Municipal Long dated 65.
4 per cent Municipal Short dated 90.
4 per cent Port Trust Long dated 66.
4 per cent Port Trust Short dated 68.
4 per cent City Improvement Trust Long dated 68.

BANK RATES.

Bank of Bombay 5 per cent.
Bank of Bengal 5 per cent.
Bank of Madras 6 per cent.

SHARES.

The market was steady on account of speculative buying.

The following are the closing quotations of the Bombay Stock Exchange:—

COTTON MILLS.

Al. Advanahy Cotton 1250;
Bombay Dyeing 8625; Bradbury 850; Century 11324; Central India 5225; Colaba Land 2945xd; Corrie 2800; Crescent 685; Currimbhoy 12721; Fashubhoy 17891; Firday 1289; Ind. Bleaching 240; Ind. Mera 683; Kutoorchand 2900; Kohinoor 3668xd; Luxmi Cotton 3550; Madhooji 4150; Mathuradas 1225xd; Meyer Sassoon 4000; Morarji 6100n; New Great 9174; New City 202xd; Pakani 695; Pearls 1249; Pirozali 1650; Premier 235; Shanurji 4271; Sholapur 15500; Simplex 2800xt; Standard 3200; Swan 1290; Swadeshi 5225.

41,37,17,613. The average registered capital of the new concerns works out at over 64 lacs per company of which a large portion is said to have been subscribed. Much of the glamour of the new companies is already worn off due to occasional periods of depression on the share market, financial tightness and the subscribers have to pay now calls of different companies one after the other. The payment to all these companies has to be made and there is no immediate prospect of a jump in prices of the shares they are hatching. The next year will consequently see a massacre of some innocents but the real test will be about 3 years after which the new companies will be expected to have begun their work in earnest. That will be the period when the crisis may be expected to come. The present depression does not deserve the name of a commercial crisis. It is a temporary depression depending entirely upon the vagaries of the weather. If the monsoon comes on it will go off in a week. If the rains, however, remain obstinate, it may prolong.

CALCUTTA RACES.

SECOND EXTRA MEETINGS.

THE RESULTS

CALCUTTA, Sept. 5.

THE SUMMER HURDLE PLATE.
Mr. Douet's UGLY GOSLING 1
Mr. Thomas' POMADE 2
Mr. John's DOUBLE SCOTCH 3

ELGIN PLATE (Div. I.)
Mr. Gilton's MISS 1
Mr. Gladstone's GORAM DARLING 2
Mr. Fleming's MARY 3

KALIGHAT PLATE (Div. I.)
Mr. Ghose's OME TOO MANY 1
Mr. Dew's SUNNY TIME 2
Mr. Thomas' LOUGH CORRIE 3

EMPIRE PLATE.
Mr. Gladstone's QUARTZITE 1
Mr. Jones' HIS NAILS 2
Mr. Singh's TALEM 3

ELGIN PLATE (Div. II.)
Mr. Ever's GALLA 1
Mr. Page's HIGHFIELD 2
Mr. Willson's PICK OF THE BUNTH 3

KALIGHAT PLATE (Div. II.)
Mr. Pugh's REPORTE 1
Mr. Dutt's BANSARCHI 2
Mr. Pugh's PHEIDIL 3

RIVER PLATE.
Mr. Ever's WAILLY 1
Mr. Singh's KISHORKE 2
Mr. Raikut's ELSIE 3

A London message, dated September announces the deaths of Sir Charles Lloyd and Sir Henry Cunningham are announced.

ENGLISH RACING

(Races' Timesman.)

LONDON, Sept. 2.

Abbot's Trace 3 to 4 against Spion Kop; 11 to 2 against Orpheus; 6 to 1 against Silver; 10 to 1 against Brainside; 100 to 1 against The Alden and Abbot's Trace; 100 to 1 against Allenby.

AN OFFER FOR TETRATEMA.

£100,000 REFUSED BY

MCCALMONT

It was stated at Goodwood in mail yesterday that Major McCalmont had been offered, and had refused, the sum of £100,000 for Tetratema, who won the Two Thousand Guineas this year, but was unplaced in the Derby and Epsom Stakes.

If Major McCalmont had accepted the offer a new record in prices for a thoroughbred would have been created. The previous highest price ever paid for a racehorse in this country was £48,000, which was paid for Prince Palatine before the war. When, however, it is remembered that a sovereign at present is worth less than half a sovereign was in 1914 it will be seen that this offer for Tetratema is not so enormous as might be assumed at first glance.—The Times.

THUD!

A poetic-looking youth was wandering round a lovely garden with his fair haire. The smell of roses was in the air, bees were humming and the sun actually shining. "What glorious things flowers are!" he purred. "Yes," said he, "but it's a pity they smell so."—"Morning Post."

MORE FROG-EATERS.

A taste for frogs as food, which the Japanese Government is trying to foster, though not common, is not unknown in England. Mr. Francois Hides Groomer used to tell of a friend of his youth who had it in excess. In summer time he would catch small "freeters" (young frogs) and let them hop down his throat, when he would stroke his stomach, and observe (for he suffered badly), "B-b-b-b beautifully cool."—"Morning Post."

Jugmohandas Rugnatadas and Company.

GOLDSMITHS AND JEWELLERS,

249-53, Shaik Memon Street, BOMBAY
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THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.
Monday, September 6, 1920.

THE RIGHT SPEECH.

"The Punjab tragedy was not a provincial affair, but a national one. Our manhood, our self-respect, our national dignity, nay, our very existence as a nation, depends on our having the principles and practices of Sir Michael O'Dwyer condemned, and once for all abrogated. We owe it to ourselves, to those unborn, to fight it out and not let the matter drop without obtaining full and unqualified redress, and without obtaining effective guarantees that it will not be possible for any one, however high his position in the Government of the country, to enact such like tragedies again. It is our duty also to repudiate as emphatically as we can the fundamentally erroneous, I was going to say,

vicious and Prussian conception which found frequent expression in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches, that the security of life and property is the primary duty of Government. The security of life and property is only a means to an end. What is the end? The uplifting of the human race and its progress towards the fullness of freedom, which means towards divinity. Peace is a good thing, but life is still better, says Rabindranath Tagore in one of his essays on Nationalism.

If the British rulers of India propose to give us mere security of life and property by denying us honour and liberty we must refuse to have them. There is no life without freedom and there is no freedom without 'Swarajya' or Self-Government."—Lala Lajpatrai.

The root cause of all this evil, as I have pointed out before, is the Prussian conception of Government which dominates the minds of so many of our Anglo-Indian rulers of whom Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the type and which places the State as something above and beyond the people. It was that conception of Government which made it possible for Lord Chelmsford's Government to pass the Rowlatt Bill into law; it was the same conception which made it possible for Sir Michael O'Dwyer to deport Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal and subsequently to have Martial Law declared in the Punjab. Every official who has had anything to do with this lamentable affair was filled with the same idea, namely, of making an example, 'teaching a lesson,' 'creating moral effect' and 'restoring the prestige of Government' by terrorism and frightfulness. General Dyer boasted that he had acted with that motive. Colonel O'Brien, Capt. Doveton, Lieutenant-Colonel Macrae, Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, Mr. Bosworth Smith and even some of the Judges who presided at the trial of Martial Law offenders were all inspired by the same ideal which made many of them inhuman in their dealings with the Punjabees during the terrible days of the Martial Law. We had the sad spectacle of a Government and its high officials neglecting to take the most essential precautions for preventing unnecessary sacrifice of life and property in the carrying out of their plans. They admit that, in no cases, where they resorted to firing and shooting, did they make any provision for first-aid to the wounded. In some cases they even refused to make over the bodies of the dead to their relatives. In others they took no notice of the dead. We have also evidence of the fact that troops destroyed property wholesale in the districts through which they passed, that even high officials of the standing of Deputy Commissioners exalted at kinds of contributions from the people within their respective jurisdictions; that they obtained articles of food and other necessities of life without paying for them, and in addition realised levies and fines and penalties from whole populations. We have also evidence of the fact that in giving effect to the orders of Martial Law Tribunals about the 'restoration of property inhuman cruelties were practised on the women and children of the offenders. In some cases they were thrown on the streets and were not even allowed to take sufficient clothing for the night and this was done not by subordi- nate officials but by high officers.—This.

"Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do desire the destruction of Imperialism but I do not desire the destruction of some Empires for the benefit of others. In my judgment, Imperialism should be eliminated from the affairs of men and federation of sisterly States should take its place, but so long as there are Empires, it is not in the interests of humanity that some of them should be dissolved for the enlargement and glorification of others. In the present state of world politics, the liberty of such States as are now being created by the dissolution of the Turkish Empire is not worth even a day's purchase. Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia are being absorbed in the British and French Empires. Arabia and Kurdistan and Armenia cannot but be vassal States. Turkey itself, under the Treaty, is hardly in a better position than the Nizam of Hyderabad. In an unguarded moment Lord George has said: 'We have not Constantinople. We have not Mesopotamia. We have not Palestine.' The Allies would have been perfectly justified in insisting on establishing autonomous Governments in all the component parts of the Turkish Empire, with a tie of federation joining them all for purposes of defence. But as the matter of present stands, Muslim India, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria, Kurdistan and Anatolia are getting in only

shadow and not substance."—Ibid.

Lala Lajpatrai has unmistakably displayed his fitness to guide the deliberations of the Indian National Congress by the presidential address he has delivered. This is demonstrated by nothing so much as by the fact that the indictment of Michael O'Dwyer forms the central theme of his speech. If the treatment of the Punjab question by the British Government and people has failed to secure justice for India, the main reason is that the crimes of the principal culprit have almost escaped examination, not to speak of punishment. And O'Dwyer was the principal culprit. By himself, of course, O'Dwyer is a contemptible being and this country would fain see his name consigned to oblivion. But his deeds—and what is more, the ideas and the policy for which he stood—have brought him into notoriety. Lala Lajpatrai spoke nothing but the truth when he said that "no man in the whole history of British rule in India has done such a great disservice to the British Empire and has brought such disgrace on the good name of the British nation as Sir Michael O'Dwyer." And the main point in the indictment against him is that he did all this, not in a fit of madness but with a deliberate purpose. "From the very moment he took charge of the Province he set before himself an ideal of Government which was Prussian in conception, Prussian in aim and Prussian in execution. For six long years he occupied himself in working out his ideals and in carrying out his plans. Every item was carefully thought out and with equal care entrusted to agents who were most fitted and willing to achieve the end desired by the Head of the Government. If ever there intervened an obstacle or a hindrance it was removed without the least pang of conscience and without the slightest consideration of its morality or even legality, so much so that even the European members of the I. C. S. who refused to endorse his opinions or to carry out his mandates had to retire into the background." And the result was the exhibition of the Punjab to a nightmare of frightfulness, terrorism and humiliation which in some respects, added the stigma of Russian atrocities and in other respects was unparalleled in history. The gravity of his crimes against the people of India and the distance that he has brought on the people of Great Britain is brought in relief by the moderate indictment contained in Lala Lajpatrai's speech. Yet O'Dwyer himself, principal culprit though he was, was but the creature of the evil force against which India has to struggle. And the evil force is "the Prussian conception of Government which dominates the minds of so many of our Anglo-Indian rulers of whom O'Dwyer was the type. . . . It was that conception of Government which made it possible for Lord Chelmsford's Government to pass the Rowlatt Bill into law; it was the same conception which made it possible for Sir Michael O'Dwyer to deport Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal and subsequently to have Martial Law declared in the Punjab. Every official who has had anything to do with this lamentable affair was filled with the same idea, namely, of making an example, 'teaching a lesson,' 'creating moral effect' and 'restoring the prestige of Government' by terrorism and frightfulness. General Dyer boasted that he had acted with that motive. Colonel O'Brien, Captain Doveton, Lieut. Colonel Macrae, Lieut. Col. Johnson, Mr. Bosworth Smith, and even some of the Judges who presided at the trial of Martial Law offenders were all inspired by the same ideal, which made many of them inhuman in their dealings with the Punjabees during the terrible days of the Martial Law." This conception of Government—the rule of one nation by another by force—is opposed to the conception of Government which we have been wont to associate with British imperialism, namely the conception of Government by consent. The conception informs the members of British statesmen on the Punjab question and the Reform Scheme. But the deeds of British statesmen fall short of their brave words. Why?

Part of the answer is this.

The answer to this question supplies the key to the present situation. And it is this that British statesmen themselves are helpless against the forces of reaction—of Prussianism, which, defeated in Germany, has changed its geographical location—that are seeking to re-assert themselves. These are the forces which have found manifestation in the debates in the Commons, in the defeat in the Lords, in the attitude of the European community in India and the outbursts of the Anglo-Indian Press. How powerful are these forces is demonstrated by the failure of the British Government and Parliament to give us justice and guarantees in regard to the Punjab. The motive which

inspires these forces is the desire to keep power, privilege and prestige. And ultimately it can be traced to that economic imperialism which regards Asiatics as hewers of wood and drawers of water and which is at the root of the dismemberment of Turkey and the consequent blow to the Khilafat. These then are the two forces of reaction—militarism and economic imperialism—which challenge an answer from India. They challenge an answer, inasmuch as they are a menace not only to the peace and security of India and the East, but also to the honour and liberty of Eastern peoples. As we stated on a previous occasion, the task before us—whether we have regard to the agony of the Punjab or the Khilafat wrong—is not a domestic but international. The Punjab and the Khilafat are, at bottom, parts of the same problem—the problem presented by the desire of Europe to control and exploit Asia mainly for its own benefit. And, for this reason, we bespeak the most careful and earnest attention of our readers to the following grave and thoughtful words of Lala Lajpatrai:—

But there are in my judgment other issues also involved in the Turkish Peace Treaty which deserve consideration. I maintain that any further extension of the British Empire in Asia is detrimental to the interests of India and fatal to the liberties of the human race. The British have frequently used Indian troops to conquer various parts of Asia and Africa. For a long time there was an unwritten law which every European Chancellor considered binding on itself, that non-European troops were not to be used in any European War. This was abolished in the last war—African troops and Indian troops were used during and after the war by the Allies in Europe. Black troops were in occupation of Germany and possibly they may be still there. Gurkhas were, for some time stationed in Ireland. I do not, of course, resent the abolition of the invidious social barrier that point of view, I may even welcome it, but surely it widens the scope of militarism. British suzerainty in Arabia and British occupation of Mesopotamia involved the practical absorption of Persia and Central Asia and perhaps later on a Afghanistan as well, into the British Empire. What has happened in India will happen in these countries too, i.e., the general population will be disarmed and a number of them enrolled and drilled in the army. With the memory of the Dyer Debates fresh in our minds, let my countrymen imagine the effect of the procedure on their own liberties as well as those of the rest of the world. The prospect of having Arabian, Persian and Afghan regiments in India cannot be pleasant to those of us who are working for the freedom of this country. It may be said that the contingency is very remote and perhaps fanciful. I am afraid I cannot agree in that view. What is remote to-day becomes near to-morrow. If the British Imperialist has no scruples in using Indian troops in Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Central Asia, why will he have any in using the troops he raises in these countries against us? The Hindu-Muslim problem will become ten times more troublesome and dangerous, if this turns out to be true.

There is another aspect of the question. If the Muslim population of these countries continue to resist, British attempts at occupation which they are likely to do for years, the Indian Army will be in constant requisition to fight their battles in those regions, which means a constant and never-ending drain on our resources, both human and economic. The best interests of India, therefore, require that the Muslim countries in Western Asia should remain free and independent. Their amalgamation in the British Empire even under the pretence of mandatory jurisdiction, is likely to be extremely harmful to us. We know what these mandates really mean. The British have to maintain 50,000 troops in Mesopotamia and the French the same number in Syria. They have spent money like water on the territories even after the war. This is not being done for the benefit of those backward countries. Several wars are going on at this minute in what were Turkish territories before.

It may be contended that this view ignores the League of Nations and the United States. Well, gentlemen, there is no such thing as the League of Nations. Great Britain, and France are the League. As for the United States, they are averse to any entanglements in foreign politics. They will not raise their little finger to save the liberties of the world unless there are in danger.

But it may also be said that this view ignores the possibility of Labour coming into power in Great Britain. Well, so long as Labour does not actually come into power it will be foolish for us to count upon the contingency in deciding what attitude we shall have on current problems, which brook no delay. For the present it seems that Junkerism and Militarism have obtained a fresh lease of life in Great Britain. For evidence one has to read carefully the speeches made in the course of the Dyer Debate in both the Houses of Parliament. These speeches would not have been delivered in 1917 and 1918.

This we consider to be the most important passage in Lala Lajpatrai's address. And we consider it to be so not merely because it sums up all that can be said about the Khilafat wrong, but also because it shows us the path which we must choose if we are anxious to prevent the recurrence of Jallianwalla and other Punjab atrocities not only in our country but in all Asia and, consequently, in all world.

India holds the Key.

In fact, it is the privilege of India to-day to hold in her hands the key to the destiny of the world. And what is the key? This that we must give up our

isolation and begin to think internationally. It is not enough for us if we are content with the nominal membership of the League of Nations. It would be a mockery. We must seek to make our membership effective. And the first important step towards the securing of this purpose is to demand—and not only to demand but to obtain by all constitutional means that are possible—the immediate and complete withdrawal of all Indian troops from every part of the world where they are engaged in crushing the national aspirations of nationalities fighting for their independence. We are ready and we shall be ready to give generously out of our poverty and to offer our manhood for the defence of the Empire—but we must declare, and see that our declaration is given effect to,—that not one penny nor one man from this country goes to forge the fetters of dependence for other nations. These are not idle words which Lala Lajpatrai has uttered that "any further extension of the British Empire in Asia is detrimental to the interests of India and fatal to the liberties of the human race." For, to use Rabindranath Tagore's phraseology, the possessions of the British Empire are already too burdensome for its moral, integrity and physical strength. We have to cry a halt to this mad desire for imperialistic aggrandisement not merely because of the drain on Indian manhood or of the fear of the possible use of Arab and other Asiatic troops against us, or even of the drain on the British taxpayer, but because of the menace to the peace of the world. The menace of Germany was the Prussian policy of economic imperialism. The policy of Britain and France and of their Allies in regard to the Turkish Empire is identical. And the appetite for imperialistic aggrandisement grows by what it feeds on. And economic imperialism, in its sinister and panicky moods, means Panjabs. How are we to resist this menace. There is only one way. To remove the perilous temptation from the path of our rulers. And there is only one way to do this. To seek the extension of the bounds of freedom not only in our own country but throughout the world. Militarism—manifested in the Punjab and economic imperialism—seeking the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire—are the foes of freedom, not only for us but for all Asia. What shall be our answer to their challenge? Self-reliance. That, as Mr. Chakravarti, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said, is the great outstanding lesson of history brought home to most of us by recent happenings—"a nation in leading strings is a nation in bondage and that for all justice, strength and help in evil you must look within and not without." And this also is the message of the President of the Congress to his fellow-countrymen: "Have as many friends as you can have, among Englishman and others but have faith in yourselves and yourselves alone." And it is not for ourselves only that we have to assert our national will. We shall be strengthening the Commonwealth of self-governing Nations of which we are determined to be and to remain a part by saving itself from a menace which, if not averted, will lead to its disruption. We shall be doing more. We shall be a powerful ally to the forces of Labour and sane and non-aggressive Liberalism which are struggling to save democracy from the wreck of the war—and we shall be helping to secure the peace of the world. The supreme need of the moment is thus, as we have stated on previous occasions, the discovery and use of a new weapon of constitutional agitation that will be an answer to the challenge of the forces of reaction that are seeking to undo the work of the war. That weapon must be discovered by the collective deliberation and thought of the representatives of the country. Lala Lajpatrai, therefore, did wisely in refraining from prejudicing the decision of the Congress—the Parliament of the Nation. His duty was to speak the mind of the people. He fully spoke the mind of the people—the people who are in no mood to be trifled with either by the Government or by their representatives.

Notes of the Day.

Lord Chelmsford's Successor.

"India" writes:—
Rumour continues to be busy with the names of those thought to be in the running for the succession to Lord Chelmsford. Some say the appointment has been settled; others declare with equal certainty and air of authority that it is still open. The three names mostly in people's mouths at present are Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Asa in Chamberlain.
But why not Lord Haldane?

Literature and Art.

(FROM OUR SUNDAY EDITION.)

INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

"The British Coal Industry," by Gilbert Stone. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. "Chaos and Order in Industry" by G. D. H. Cole. Published by Methuen & Co.

Industrial unrest is perceptible all over the world. It is attributed to high prices, low wages, long hours, bad housing, unemployment, absence of provision in sickness and old age, and other causes. The remedies suggested vary accordingly. Some are radical and revolutionary; the relative value of others is not beyond dispute. Mr. Stone is content to show that increase of production will go a long way towards improving the lot of the worker. Mr. Cole represents the school which goes no lasting good in any remedy short of democratic control of all industries.

Mr. Stone's interesting chapters on the history of the coal industry in England are evidently not intended to satisfy the curiosity of the student of history. They show that progress has been attained in the past under the existing organisation, and therefore suggest that more progress is possible without a revolution, though the author does not discuss the latter question. The history is in itself remarkable, apart from the lessons which may be derived therefrom. Coal was not generally used for domestic purposes in England till about the middle of the 18th century. The first attempt to introduce it led to a riot in London in 1798, because of the smoke which it produced. Till the year 1775 the collier was a serf bought and sold with the land. An additional payment was made to him when his wife bore him a child. When the law made him a free labourer, he suspected that it was a trick to rob him of that allowance. His condition was worse than that of a slave in West Indies. The men worked naked in the mines and women wore trousers. The arts of draining and ventilating the mines had not been developed, and explosions were frequent. Sir H. Davy's safety lamp created a false sense of security and was the cause of more frequent disasters at first. Children worked longer than men and women. Improvements in the mines were gradual. Miners formed a federation in 1841. In 1842 the employment of women and girls in mines was forbidden, and of boys regulated. A school of mining was founded in 1851, and an institute of mining engineers in 1852. In 1855 regulations were laid down for the construction and working of mines, and the present era begins from 1873.

Notwithstanding all the improvements made in every industry the workers are not content. They are convinced that the system of production for private profit of the capitalist is at the root of all evil. He has for example taken advantage of the high prices introduced by the war. He has adjusted the value of his concerns to the new level of prices and imposed a permanent burden on society. Almost every day, says Mr. Cole, a new company is floated to make one million pounds of pre-war capital into several. "The hand of finance lies heavy on industry and on the public." Mr. Cole thinks that public ownership is the only remedy. He would immediately nationalise the "key industries and services," and banking is one of them. He would make the housing of the people a national responsibility. When all these changes are made a class struggle may still remain. It will not be a contest between capital and labour, but between two different kinds of labour—the brain and the hand. The author promises to deal with this subject more fully in a future volume. This one is certainly inspiring, and in some places the pictures drawn of the future are even alarming.

"SANJ VARTAMAN" PATETI NUMBER

The enterprising Mr. Ruston N. Vachagandhi, deserves congratulations for the Pateti number of the "Sanj Vartaman". It is nicely got up; and, in these days of scarcity of labour and material, speaks well of the energy and enthusiasm of the management.

In the picture gallery are to be seen Lokmanya Tilak and Shapurji Broacha and five British friends of India. Mr. Ben Spoor, Col. Wedgwood, Lt.-Col. Kenworthy, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott and Rt. Hon. Neil McLean. There are also a few Marathi pictures giving a sad reminder of the abominable outrages of those days. Photos of the Ottoman Delegation and of the leaders of the Khilafat movement in India are artistically printed.

Turning to the articles, we find, among others, the familiar pen of Sir F. C. O. Beaman, writing on "Musings without Methods"; Mr. J. M. Parika writes on "A Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament"; Mr. Arthur Field Founder of the Workers' Welfare League of India makes a powerful plea for amelioration of Indian Labour in his article the "Labour Problem of India," the two fair states—Mrs. Hirabai and Miss Mitha—have appropriately dealt with "Thoughts on Women's Work" and "Fitness of Women for the legal profession." Mrs. Josephine Ransome, Editor of "Britain and India" writes on "Ideals of Education." Mr. Holford Knight's "Message to India" is full of hope. Much as we appreciate all these very much miss a comprehensive article on the Lokmanya Tilak.

The Gujarati section of the number is replete with informing articles on diverse subjects written by well-known writers—Parisi, Hindu and Mahomedan, Shams-ul-Ulma. Dr. J. J. Modi writes on "The Arabs wearing the Sacred Thread and the Parsis." Ervad Phiroze S. Masani, in a three-page

cle deals with the engrossing subject among the Zoroastrians—"Marriages with non-Parsis and the subject of conversion" in which he deals some of the theories propounded by Dastur Dr. Dhalla. Mr. Manilal K. Desai gives a historical sketch of "Bejoo Bavro," who lived in the reign of Akbar. Mr. K. M. Khandwala writes on Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Out of a host of other very readable articles mention may be made of "Photography about body and soul" by Mr. A. K. Vasevadia; "Headings of the Parsi New Year" by Manishanker H. Pandit, and "Teaching of Kuran Sharif" by Sheikh G. M. Sahob, besides these, short stories, sketches and poems are given to cater for the appetites of readers of all tastes. The Gujarati section, thus, in its choice of subjects and writers, like its English counterpart, leaves nothing to be desired for which your contemporary, can justly take pride.

BOOKS IN BRIEF.

Maureen: by Patrick MacGill. New York. Patrick MacGill is well-known as an author who gives pictures of Irish peasant life with a sense of poignant reality all his own. His latest book just published gives another picture of that life. "Maureen" shows that the author writes with an intimate knowledge of things he is describing and he does it well because he has lived the life he describes.

The story is full of tragedy and pathos but not without its lighter side of humour. Hard and bitter poverty has to do a great deal with the story and there is also the tragedy of ignorance which after all ends in death.

The New Germany by George Young. Harcourt Brace and Howe.

Whoever goes to Russia writes a book and consequently we have a mass of literature on the Russian Revolution. The "Red" terror and the Bolsheviks. But not much interest has been shown in the German Revolution. At any rate few have been sufficiently interested to write a book about it. And therefore, there is a reason to believe that Mr. George Young's book will be greatly appreciated, giving as it does a detailed and coherent narrative of Germany after the armistice. Mr. Keynes has written his epoch-making book and there is not much left to be written on the economic side of the German question. Mr. Young, however, writes with special knowledge of Germany after 1918 as he had occasion to witness the desultory civil war in Germany that went on in different parts of the country in 1919. It has been said and the statement is violently supported by the Jungo press in England, America, and by the French General Staff that Germany was secretly armed and prepared for a war of revenge. The author effectively dispels the silly phantom. Germany has been broken thoroughly, industrially, commercially, and every other way.

The League of Nations has lost all its old charm and attraction for Germany as the Germans have now seen that it is a "mere alliance of greedy and imperialistic Powers to safeguard the spoils of war."

One effect of the failure of the League, is that the reconciliation between Germany and the Allies is being put off indefinitely.

NOTES AND NEWS.

One welcomes with pleasure an art book, which in excellence of colour illustration, indicates that we have lost no skill of craftsmanship during the period of the war. "The Romance of the Jewel," by Francis Stopford, printed for private circulation, is not invidious advertisement on the part of well known firm whose signature is appended to the foreword—Mapoin and Webb. Rather it is a literary and artistic contribution to the records of jewels and precious stones. There is a natural curiosity to learn the hidden story of some gem. Little enough is known of the subject, apart from legendary lore, which teaches us that opals, presumably, are unlucky. This handsome volume goes deeper into history than mere hearsay.

Cricketers of an earlier generation will not have forgotten the name of W. B. Money, one of the most brilliant Harrovians of his day. He was in the Harrow team for three years, 1895-7, and captain in his last season. He got his blue as a freshman at Cambridge, and played four years against Oxford at Lord's, and he was always known among his contemporaries as a cheery lover of a good story. Many of these tales of old times he has now collected into a volume, to be called "Humours of a Parish and Other Quaintnesses," which Mr. John Lane is on the point of publishing. Mr. Money has been a Parish priest for many years, and his general appreciation of character enables him to invest his reminiscences with a peculiar charm.

"The Diary of a Sportsman Naturalist in India," a new book by Mr. E. P. Stebbing, author of "Stalks in the Himalayas," will be published by Mr. John Lane shortly.

A series of articles entitled "When Labour Rules" has just been completed by Mr. H. H. Thomas, and will appear in Pearson's Magazine. It may be taken for granted that they will be collected, subsequently, in a volume.

It is a matter for regret that the "Book Monthly" is to appear no more. For nearly seventeen years Mr. James Milne, who

brought it into existence, has kept it at a very high level, thanks to his own wide knowledge both of books and of bookmen, to the soundness of his judgement, and to his very acute appreciation of the taste of the reading public. During the war the "Book Monthly," like every other publication that was, essentially, for peace-time, suffered severely; but by reducing the number of issues it was found possible to keep it alive. But at last it has gone down in the struggle against rising prices.

Lucas Malet used to write so winningly about men and women that her new book "The Tall Villa" (Collins, 7s. 6d.), will disappoint those who are not greatly interested in ghosts. The workmanship compels admiration, and she suggests most skilfully the atmosphere of the house in which a Georgian gallant in "short-waisted blue coat and buff cork breeches, high riding boots, and a black satin stock," made love to a modern, an exceedingly modern, lady. But a ghost in love!

Sir Israel Gollancz has edited for the Oxford University Press what will be generally recognised as one of the most interesting of English mediæval poems. It is an exercise in alliterative verse, called "Winnere and Wastour," and describes, with the keen spirit of a contemporary sufferer, the social and economic problems which were distracting England in 1352, during the French war, and immediately after the devastating invasion of the Black Death. It is suggested that the problems of that time are singularly like those of the present day, and that his story once more repeats itself with astounding persistence.

Mr. Max Beerbohm has just passed for press the proofs of the memorial volume to his brother, Sir Herbert Tree, which is to be published by Messrs. Hutchinson and Co. The work is not so much a formal biography as a collection of appreciative studies by relatives and admirers of the great actor, so arranged as to represent every side of his versatile life and activity. Lady Tree and her two daughters contribute personal records of his family life and private friendship; Mr. Max Beerbohm writes "from a brother's standpoint," and among other distinguished persons who have written tributes are Mr. Edmund Gosse, Sir Gilbert Parker, Mr. C. Haddon Chambers, Mr. W. L. Courtney, and Mr. Louis N. Parker, whose pen afforded Sir Herbert several of his most successful characters. There is also an article by Mr. George Bernard Shaw from his own standpoint, and a tribute from Mr. Desmond McCarthy.

Two Ruskin volumes are promised by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Limited. One is "Ruskin the Prophet," a volume of the Centenary studies, to which John Massfield, Dean Inge, C. F. G. Masterman, Laurence Binyon, H. W. Nevenson, and others contribute critical appreciations and essays. The other volume is entitled "The Harvest of Ruskin," by Principal J. W. Graham, and includes a critical estimate of Ruskin's teaching in the light of to-day's situation between capital and labour and existing ideas concerning Socialism, education, and religion.

THE PLACE OF MUSIC IN EDUCATION.

ESIR H. HADOW ON ITS IMPORTANCE

In an address at the annual meeting of the Manchester High School for Girls, held at the Free Trade Hall on June 23, Sir Henry Hadow, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, made a special plea for the inclusion of music as a properly recognised part of our educational system. Dr. Hadow (some of whose compositions were sung by the assembled pupils) said it ought not to be necessary in this country, and still less in Manchester, to plead the cause of music. But some people had not fully understood what a musical education really meant. There were still a great many who regarded it as synonymous with teaching reluctant people to play the piano rather badly. At least, they came to identify it with somebody practising in the next room. He would very gladly sweep away 90 per cent. of the piano lessons that were going on at that moment. What they wanted was an appreciation of music rather than executive ability. No doubt things were better than they were in his early days, when every girl was disgraced who could not play the piano, and every boy who could—laughter—when in the boys' schools piano lessons were regarded as an alternative to cricket, and suffered greatly from that unequal comparison. But two reasons stood out now why music should play a very important part in education. One was psychological, for they had the fact that music had an immense influence on the human mind and frame, more especially illustrated in cases of nervous disorders and shell-shock in the last few years. The other reason was historical, and as to that he would say that music was most prominent in the periods of history which were the most splendid and full of life and happiness.

Music ought not to be regarded as something which foreigners made and England paid for. It had exactly the same kind of appeal as great literature. Everything that was said in favour of the inclusion of Shakespeare in an educational system could be used equally for great music. Therefore, he would urge that music should form a properly recognised and organised part of our schemes of education.

In an interesting report on the progress of the school, Miss Burdall, the head mistress, said they had been distressed at the importunity of parents and pupils whose natural demands for learning they could not satisfy because they could not find room for all who wished to come to them. There was a danger of a too rigid type of education at present. All secondary schools were becoming standardised, and there was a real fear that English education, with all its variety, freedom, and care for the individual, was being forced into a Prussian system of regulation. Teachers must have freedom, as doctors had, to treat their cases as they thought best. They

CEYLON NEWS.

KRAAL REVELATIONS.

(From Our Correspondent.)

COLOMBO, Sept. 4.

The special session of the Ceylon Congress, which was fixed for next Friday and Saturday has been postponed for 24th and 25th inst.

The city's assessment rate has been skyrocketed to 20 per cent. for one year only. The "Daily News" to-day publishes some Kraal revelations. "This grandeur, was it seems raised on a levy of Rs. 20 paid by each headman to his R. M. and half bushel of rice, dozen fowls, dozen eggs, per week. All splendour was the outcome of extortion. The Host of the Sheeters was a conscript army enrolled on the ancient system of 'Rajakaria.' Bountiful hospitality was the result of the Commissariat system that denuded kitchens of minor headmen and hovels of peasants, but besides depriving the poor villager of his little superfluity, he himself was summoned to the stockade. Situated in middle of the jungle, where exposed to the inclemency of the weather, these wretches had to work on no pay and no food, sustaining themselves on what fare they could obtain from whatever was left after the predation of the R. M.

NO COMPULSION AND THREAT

ZAHID HUSSAIN'S REJOINDER TO GOVT. COMMUNIQUE.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

MADRAS, Sept. 5.

Apropos the press communication regarding the resignation of the title of Shams-ul-Ulama by Mr. Zahid Hussain, the following telegram has been sent by Mr. Zahid Hussain to the Madras Government: "Pray cancel my yesterday's report signed by compulsion and threat. I sincerely reject title Shams-ul-Ulama."

THE "PIONEER'S" OUTBURST

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

ALLAHABAD, Sept. 5.

"The Pioneer," commenting on Lala Lajpat Rai's address, says: "All old distributists against the Punjab officials are reached and served up again to the public with the sole object, apparently, of exciting racial animosity and providing stimulus to the Non-Co-operation movement which is already beginning to hang fire. It is difficult for any intelligent man to perceive what the extremists, who have captured the Congress, can hope to gain by such tactics on the eve of the introduction of the first instalment of constitutional reforms. The only possible conclusion is their ruling motive is the deep-rooted hatred of the British which blinds them not only to all advantages which have been conferred on India by the British rule but also to the value and sincerity of the concessions granted to the Indians by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as a step forward along the road leading to full responsible Government as soon as the Indians have demonstrated their fitness for it."

THE LEADER

(Associated Press.)

ALLAHABAD, Sept. 5.

The "Leader" writes: "But the whole view of position and prospect, which Lala Lajpat Rai takes, is to our eye more gloomy than is justified by the facts. We see much that is hopeful, if there is a great deal also to depress, and we prefer that the leading exponents of Indian opinion should take a less one-sided and a less depressing view of the situation. As for the Congress itself, we can but hope it may avoid the blunder of voting for Non-Co-operation."

DRUNKENNESS DOUBLED.

57,948 CONVICTIONS LAST YEAR.

Convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales last year show a great increase on those for 1918—amounting to nearly double the number.

Blue Book issued on July 29 gives the following figures:—

1918 57,948
1919 29,075

Among the many and contributory causes of the increase the report gives the following:—

There were more men at home and fewer of them in khaki.

More policemen, and those less overworked available for street duty.

More hours for drinking.

More and stronger liquor.

More light, more money, more leisure.

Less self-control, and less appreciation of the fact that drunkenness "matters" now the war is over.

Less readiness to realise that the progress towards general sobriety won during the war ought to be carried on in peace time.

Lack of adequate equipment for driving that point home.

The increase would appear, states the report, to be due in some degree to the revival of clubs which fell out of existence during the war, and in greater degree to the institution of new clubs.—"Daily Herald."

OFFICIAL AND PERSONAL.

Lady Lloyd gave a Treat to the Revd. Canon Graydon Tibbs' School Children at Government House on Friday afternoon.

The Raja of Baria, Lt. Col. E. C. Kensington and Mrs. J. C. G. Bowen have arrived at Government House.

asked that parents should help them in trying to prepare the girls and boys for days of plain living and high thinking, and steady, arduous work, whether in the home or outside. In the hard times of scarcity or trouble through which the world would yet have to pass it was no kindness to the children to bring them up soft. (Applause.)—"Manchester Guardian."

GRAVEST FOOD SITUATION IN CHINA

20 MILLIONS FACED WITH ACTUAL FAMINE.

(REUTERS' TELEGRAM.)

LONDON, Sept. 4.

Reed. 6-30 p.m., Sept. 5.

THIENTSIN.—Reports from Honan, Shan-tung, and South Chihli emphasise the extreme gravity of food situation. Twenty millions are faced with actual famine. Thousands are already starving. Whole families are committing suicide and parents are selling their daughters for a few dollars. Thousands of animals have been slaughtered. The most serious famine for 40 years predicted this winter.

"SITUATION MOST CONFUSING"

REPORTS REPULSE OF POLES.

(REUTERS' TELEGRAM.)

LONDON, Sept. 4.

Reed. 6-30 p.m., Sept. 5.

The Polish Lithuanian situation is most confusing. Berlin persists in announcing fighting and publishes a Lithuanian semi-official communique declaring that the Lithuanians have succeeded in driving back the Poles 25 to 50 versts on the entire Grodno-Suwaki front. The communique gives the names of various places captured.

SOCIALISING COAL MINES

COMMITTEE'S OPINION DIVIDED.

(REUTERS' TELEGRAM.)

LONDON, Sept. 4.

Reed. 6-30 p.m., Sept. 5.

BERLIN.—The so-called Socialisation Committee has concluded its deliberations on the question of socialising coal-mines. The opinion of the committee is divided, one party favouring the immediate complete socialisation and the other proposing gradual socialisation with the present retention of the private capital. The Commission is unanimously of opinion that a far-reaching elimination of capitalistic profits of coal-mining is requisite. The majority report recommends the formation of an Imperial Coal Council which will hand over all profits to the State and fix the prices. The Council will include the representatives of officials, miners, and the consumers.

FOR MCSWINERY.

MAYOR OF HYLANDS'S APPEAL TO PREMIER.

(REUTERS' TELEGRAM.)

LONDON, Sept. 4.

Reed. 6-30 p.m., Sept. 5.

NEW YORK.—The Mayor of Hyland has cabled to Mr. Lloyd George urging him "not to disgrace our war aims by further imprisoning the Lord Mayor of Cork, whose heroic fortitude has won admiration of all who believe in the rule of the people by the people."

THE AFRICAN PROBLEM.

INDIAN MERCHANTS' REPRESENTATION.

The following telegram has been addressed to the Secretary, Commerce and Industries Department, Government of India, Simla, by Mr. Jehangir Petit, Chairman, Indian Merchants' Chamber:—

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber view with great apprehension the scheme of the South African Union Government of so-called voluntary repatriation, information from Natal calculated to confirm apprehension that the scheme would virtually work out as one of compulsion leading in this instance to practical expulsion of Indians from the Colony. It is absolutely essential a committee of Indians should be appointed in South Africa to examine all cases of repatriation and see if any compulsion or intimidation or illegitimate inducement is used towards any individual. No other safeguard will serve to protect Indian settlers in South Africa. My Committee hope that the mean attack by the leading South African paper on His Excellency the Viceroy will be treated with the contempt it deserves and that, notwithstanding such racial and acrimonious criticisms, His Excellency will continue to pursue the policy of instating upon securing for Indians treatment of perfect self-respect as is theirs by right as citizens of the British Empire in all British Colonies.

My Committee consider the statement made by the Governor of Kenya Colony as extremely disappointing and not at all suited to the need of the situation. His reply is a practical concession to all the demands made by the European settlers in British East Africa, viz., the limitation of franchise to Indians in uplands, and racial segregation. All these three bars against Indians constitute a grave injustice to the Indian subjects of His Majesty and a deliberate violation of their rights and privileges. My Committee earnestly hope that the Government of India will continue to vigorously press these grievances on the attention of His Majesty's Government or in the alternative adopt such measures as will compel the persecutors of Indians in East Africa to desist from their nefarious policy.—"Jehangir Petit, Chairman."

C. G. Bowen have arrived at Government House.

There was a Dinner Party at Government House.

CRICKET IN BOMBAY.

BOMBAY GYM. VS ELPHINSTONE C.C.

FINE INNINGS BY KAPADIA.

The bowlers had the best of the matters in the match between the Bombay Gymkhana and the Elphinstone Cricket Club which was played on the former's ground yesterday. The visitors did put up a respectable total of 156 but it was largely due to only two men, while the Gymkhana going into bat fared none better as they had lost 5 of their men for 90 runs when stumps were drawn. Altogether 16 men batted yesterday making 248. Out of these 3 batsmen accounted for 136 runs while the other thirteen were disposed of for a little over a hundred.

The Elphinstonian innings was redeemed from utter failure by the splendid third-wicket stand made by D. K. Kapadia and Gandhi. Two wickets were down for 33 when the two men became associated and they were not separated before they had added over a hundred for the third wicket. But a riot set in after Kapadia's return to the pavilion, the next six wickets realising only 23 runs. Of the last seven men one was absent and none of the remaining six was able so much as to enter into double figures. Kapadia and Gandhi deserve the greatest credit for making a splendid stand when all their other colleagues failed before the Gymkhana attack. Kapadia who made the top score on his side played a brilliant innings, which was unmarred by a single chance. He hit all round the wicket, making quite a number of fine strokes into which he put a lot of strength. He displayed capital form and met all the Gymkhana bowling with fine confidence. Chief among his were seven 4's. Gandhi also played a fine game though 18 was not altogether faultless as he could have been sent back at 40. But apart from that one chance he played sound cricket.

On the Gymkhana side, Robatham played splendid cricket, making 34, the top score on his side. Going in first he was unbeaten when time was called. Crookwell also played well for his 26.

FINE BOWLING BY WADIA.

Wadia was the most successful bowler of the day, capturing 4 wickets for something under 10 runs apiece. The next two successful bowlers were Robatham and Ripley who took 2 and 3 wickets for 18 and 29 runs respectively. The scores:—

ELPHINSTONE C.C.			
M R Adenwala c Ripley b Morgan	29		
J Elchidana c b Crookwell	28		
S N Gandhi run out	45		
A K Kapadia (capt.) c Robatham b Morgan	57		
H P Mulla c Crookwell b Ripley	2		
T Parakh c Ripley b Robatham	6		
J Elvira b Ripley	6		
P D Nalawath c Bourne b Robatham	3		
J E Kapadia c Darlow b Ripley	2		
H F Wadia not out	0		
P. D. Kapadia absent	0		
Extras	12		
Total	156		

BOMBAY GYMKHANA			
K M Robatham (capt.) not out	34		
Capt. L. H. W. Crookwell c Nalawath b Wadia	28		
S P Bourne c Mulla b D Kapadia	15		
A F Darlow c Mulla b Wadia	1		
E O Morgan c Elvira b Wadia	1		
Capt. R. L. Hulls c Mulla b Wadia	1		
E. Mulla b Elvira	9		
The rest did not bat	0		
Extras	8		
Total (for 5 wickets)	90		

BOWLING ANALYSIS.

Elphinstone C.C. Innings.

O. M. R. W.

Morgan 9 1 40 3

Ripley 6 0 29 3

Robatham 7 1 15 3

Crookwell 4 0 24 1

Randall 4 0 17 0

Bourne 4 0 19 1

Bombay Gymkhana Innings.

O. M. R. W.

Elvira 18 7 38 1

Wadia 22 0 29 4

Kapadia (D) 4 0 19 1

COUNTY CRICKET.

(REUTERS' TELEGRAM.)

LONDON, Sept. 2.

Reed. 12 noon, Sept. 4.

Somerset beat Derby by ten wickets.

LONDON, Sept. 3.

Reed. 10 a.m., Sept. 5.

The match between Hampshire and Leicestershire resulted in a draw.

THE VICTORIA COLLEGE.

RESIGNATION OF THE PRINCIPAL.

A correspondent writes:—

We are extremely sorry to learn that Principal Katti of the Victoria College has resigned his post. The Victoria College is hardly been two months in existence and the resignation of Mr. Katti will be a great loss. It is to be trusted that no way is not at once to be tried for a reconsideration of the resignation and the Governing Body will commit a grave blunder if it lightly loses the eminent services of Mr. P. S. Katti. In fact it is no secret that it is his name and attainments that brought strength to the almost hopeless case and recognition was obtained from not an over-willing Government. Mainly because of him. It is the duty of the Governing Body to try its best to retain the services of Mr. Katti. It is not surprising to learn that Mr. Katti's resignation has caused wild excitement in the student world. It is unimaginable that the student Body should be in such a haste to summon a superannuated gentleman from Kothapur to take the place of Mr. Katti. One trusts wiser counsels will still prevail and that it will be made possible for Mr. Katti to resume his charge.

Sir George and Lady Lloyd were present at the Races on Saturday afternoon, where Her Excellency gave away the Aga Khan Cup. The Hon. Mr. Justice Martin



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INDIAN LIBERAL CLUB.

EAST AFRICAN PROBLEM.

Mr. B. N. Anantani of Zanzibar delivered a lecture on "The East African Problem," under the auspices of the above club, on Tuesday, the 31st of August 1920, in the Servants of India Society's Hall. The lecturer began by invoking the memory of the late of Mr. Gokhale who first made the question an object of special study, in 1912-13, when he visited the country and exhorted the audience to pay more attention to the question both in the press and on the platform. Mr. Anantani's whole theme was based upon the indigenous right of the Indians, in the industrial sense of the world, of colonising that portion of East Africa which has been talked of so much now-a-days owing to the humiliating conditions imposed upon the resident Indians there by the domineering British interest. He, with the help of certain philological and similar facts, argued that East Africa from times immemorial has been first colonised, then protected and developed and now almost industrially manned by Indians. Speaking of all the ancient, medieval and the modern times, on the authority of well-known English authors, the lecturer, tried to bring out the fact that not only were the Indians the original settlers of those parts, but also that they were the instruments of introducing and helping the Englishmen, who now with their stringent and almost unhuman municipal laws and other ways of segregation of races, etc., are creating a very strong feeling of discontent.

DEPRESSED CONDITION OF INDIANS.

The lecturer, here, explained in detail the present depressing condition of the inhabitants there and requested his audience, on behalf of his African brothers, to try their best to get the situation remedied. India, he said, had vested interest in Africa and Indians would be losing the best opportunity, if in their ignorance of the inviting African conditions, they would neglect the exploitation of a country so favourable disposed to them. Ultimately the lecturer said that the result would depend upon the strength of Indian manhood or that of Imperial Statesmanship.

The lecturer dealt at great length with the recent deputation that waited upon the Viceroy and of the probably unsatisfactory outcome of all these things. A vote of thanks to the lecturer brought the proceedings to an end.

SAMMARREH INSURGENTS DISPERSED.

KIFRI RE-OCCUPIED.

(REUTERS TELEGRAM.)

LONDON, Sept. 3.
Recd. 12.40 a.m. Sept. 5.

Bagdad.—The insurgents at Sammarreh have been dispersed and the situation there is secure for the moment, but the line is still interrupted. The attacks on Samawah continued. The situation at Nasrveh and Sukkshayrah is becoming increasingly delicate, but there have been no open hostilities yet. Mosul, Ramadi, Arbil and Sulaimania are quiet and Tigris also is quiet. Captain Salmon, Political Officer in Kifri, who was captured by Arabs, has been murdered in prison. Kifri has been reoccupied and the body of Captain Salmon has been recovered and buried.

AN APPRECIATION OF MR. TILAK.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—The question of questions at present is, why the "Lokmanya" is not, only honoured by the people, but admired, nay, even loved by those who radically differed from him in matters social, political, and religious; not only as regards the modes of thought, but the principles themselves. Mr. Tilak was considered inhuman at the time of the Age of Consent Bill and yet his death is mourned all over the country by cultured ladies Hindu, Mohamadan, and Parsee. He was never Godless nor was he ever godful. He boldly put forth his interpretation of the spirit of the "Bhagavadgita" stirring the hearts and moving the souls of the orthodox Vedantists. He tried conclusions with their incarnate "Shankaracharya," perhaps indirectly wounding their idolatrous susceptibilities.

The "Deccan Star," his debut on the public arena, proves that he was a born inveterate Swadeshi. Like Parnell's "Dublin Castle and the Parliament there," "embryonic Home Rule" was on his brain. His brain power goaded on by his indomitable will for his ideal, heaped on him sufferings after sufferings, but he recked them not. His domestic bereavements in the midst of his sufferings could not deter him an inch from the thorny path of his "Duty" towards his country, as he deemed it. His address for three successive days in the dock to the High Court produced among the people a genuine sense of vicarious suffering. Suffering for one's self has only the effect of producing sympathy and pity for the man who suffers, but the gift of the appreciation of vicarious suffering is lavished upon us by Providence, at our mother's breast. And therefore is it, that the masses can easily understand the vicarious suffering of the "Lokmanya". The evangelical "Maratha" and the "Kesari" preached his sufferings in the strain of "The Sweat of the Brain", and "The Sweat of the Blood."

I am put in mind of the Ascension of the Great Shri Rama from Avanti from that city and the idea of the Ascension was followed by the remembrance of the translation of the Yogi to the Moon, as described in chapter 8th verse 25th of the "Bhagavadgita"; according to which the Yogi is translated to the Moon and after having attained unto his illumination, has to return to the earth. Mr. Tilak's death fulfilling all the astrological aspects of the above-mentioned verse has proved that India does not cry for the Moon, as Lord Morley said, when asked for the colonial form of Government. The late Mr. Tilak's spirit has reached the

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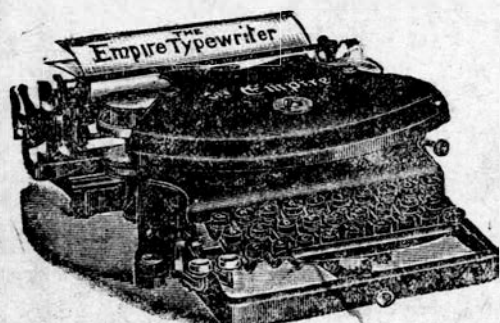
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Moon and shall return to the Earth, to dwell among us and pervade the future "National Congresses" and hover over the "Presidential chair." But the poet says:
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"Let all her ways be unconfined,"
"And clap the padlock on her mind."

Whenever we shall think of our dear departed, let us remember the spirit of the above lines. But let not partisanship transform the "Lokmanya" into a Hindoo God. We then mar a good dinner. Let us remember that the human exemplar will be lost to the masses in a Hindoo God. The exemplar then becomes an object of worship—too distant to follow. "Good times coming" the writer is nearing three score years and ten. "Nunc Dimittis," Yours, etc.,

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Both confidence in mankind breathe
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The accents of a foreign tongue,

"S. A. S."

In homes forlorn he saw no light
Of household fires that once were bright
At every door he heard a moan
But one reply he gave each groan,

"S. A. S."

"Oh for a charm!" an old man said,
"Death hovers o'er my daughter's head,
For Fever's jaws are gaping wide,"
To which the youthful voice replied,

"S. A. S."

"My child," the mother said, "do rest
Thy feverish head upon my breast."
The maiden while the youth did spy
And took the bottle with a sign,

"S. A. S."

"Beware, O child, thy withered frame!
Beware," said Doubt, "a wizard's game!
Or bid thy parents last good-night."
"Try," cried Faith from heaven's height,

"S. A. S."

At break of day all in a band
The elders of this fever-land
Out to temple for their prayer
Heard on their way the playful air,

"S. A. S."

A damsel by a rippling fount
Her garden fence did early mount
While in her hand she held, the dame,
The bottle with that loved name,

"S. A. S."

There with the golden beams of day
She mingled the music of her lay,
And still in climes both nigh and far
These words drop like a falling star,

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The Bombay Chronicle

BOMBAY: MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1920.

NO LIFE WITHOUT SWARAJYA

(From our Special Representative.)
CALCUTTA (Congress Camp.) Sept. 4.
The Special session of the Indian National Congress began to-day at 1 p.m. amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. The pandal is a compact thatched structure located in the Wellington Gardens, right in the heart of the City. Its great advantage is its accessibility to the middle class quarters of Calcutta. To the delegates from other parts of India it raises the problem of distance and quick transit. Calcutta is the premier city for big distances. And, but for astonishingly convenient and comfortable taxi cab service, one wonders how the delegates could have reached from their respective camps to the Congress pandal and to the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee. As usual the Bombay delegates have been unfortunate with respect to their accommodation. They have come in two large compact bodies. The Khilafat special brought in on Thursday, a considerable number of them under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaikat Ali. They are fervent in their adoration of the Mahatma and the Maulana Sahib, but make a wry face when asked about the comforts of the Calcutta line. The Congress special brought in a smaller, but critically minded, contingent of Bombay delegates including, among others, Messrs. Jinnah, Bapista, Kelkar, Jayakar, Jannadav. S. K. and Doctors Sahay and Welkar. The arrangements for the reception were apparently revised at the last moment, because they have been accommodated in three different camps, each at an uncomfortable distance one from the other. The President, Lala Lajpat Rai, has been housed in a Palatial mansion at 40, Theatre Road, a quarter in Chowringhee; accessible easily and without waste of time only to the delegates who can beg or borrow a taxi.

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS.
There have been many informal meetings during the last two days at the Presidential headquarters, when repeated attempts have been made to arrive at an understanding regarding the collective attitude of the Congress with respect to Non-Cooperation. Mr. Gandhi is said to have been ready with a resolution occupying three foolscap pages, which he hopes, or more actually insists, the Congress would accept. Mr. Jinnah is said to have made a very practical and eminently lawyerlike speech at yesterday's evening conference which, if the various reports concerning the informal conference can be believed, threw a good deal of cold water on the fanatical enthusiasm of some of the more vocal advocates of the Non-Cooperation movement. The morning of the actual Congress session found the delegates from the various parts of India keenly divided in their attitude as regards the scope and nature and general practicable extent of the Non-Cooperation movement, although 95 per cent of them are thoroughly agreed in holding that the time has now come for the Indian National Congress to accept the principle of Non-Cooperation.
People have not forgotten to note that at yesterday's informal meeting not a single Provincial. Theosophist politician except on from Cawnpore was present and rumours are ripe concerning the precise attitude to Mrs. Besant and her followers will adopt. She has been here for more than three days and her wonderful energy for work and her resource in canvassing public opinion to her side have not escaped notice, although the general impression is that they have failed. This fact, very distressing to her followers, was evident from the chilly silence which followed her entry into the Congress pandal, a silence which broke out into unmistakably hostile cries of "Shame" and "Sit Down" when she rose to add her tribute of welcome to Lala Lajpat Rai. This was certainly a lapse from good taste and hardly democratic, but a discontented crowd is quick to lose its manners although it is prompt in its repentance. Repent it did, when the emaciated figure of Mr. Gandhi spoke to it a few well chosen words of admonition.
The congress, as was mentioned at the beginning of these impressions, began at 1 p.m. A September afternoon in Calcutta, with the rains holding off and everybody perspiring with the heat can hardly put anybody into good temper and the unseasonably frigid which the Reception Committee members created in invading the seats reserved for the members of the All-India Congress Committee considerably disturbed the proceedings but the Bengalis are an emotional forgoing people, easily put out and easily

THE ISSUE BEFORE THE NATION. "HAVE FAITH IN YOURSELVES AND YOURSELVES ALONE." LALA LAJPAT RAI'S INDICTMENT OF O'DWYER.

reconciled, and apparently very susceptible to the charm of music. Because, the moment the doleful saddening notes of the National Anthem broke out, everyone made room for his neighbour; and all was peace and stillness, when Shriji B. Chakravarti, M.A., Bar-at-Law, the old Congress veteran with radical views, rose to make his address of welcome as Chairman of the Reception Committee. His garb and appearance occasioned considerable and pleasant surprise amongst delegates, hardly familiar with the conditions of life in Bengali society

FULLER REPORT.
(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
CALCUTTA, Sept. 4.
The Special Session of the Indian National Congress met to-day at one in the afternoon, the occasion being an auspicious one. The huge pandal with an accommodation of 15,000 was full to its utmost capacity and at places overcrowded. The crowd was so large that the Bengal delegates who were seated according to the unwritten law of the Congress at the farthest end of the pandal could not hear any of the speakers though pin-drop silence prevailed at times. At noon, the pandal was full and many prominent members of the Congress had great difficulty in getting to their seats passing through the crowd. The pandal was well decorated but the arrangement of the dais was rather defective inasmuch as a wooden barrier, three feet high, was placed in front of the platform throughout the whole length. A life size painting of Bal Gangadhar Tilak was hung in a prominent position on the central pillar of the platform. No mottoes were to be seen inside the pandal.

The number of lady delegates and visitors from all provinces is large this year. Another noticeable feature of this Congress is the large number of Mahomedan delegates from all parts of India. Mahomedan visitors were also there in large numbers. Though for the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress there was such a large attendance of Mahomedans as delegates and visitors, they did not lack in enthusiasm. In fact, they were more enthusiastic than their Hindu brethren.
Among the ladies present were Mrs. Jinnah, Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhrani, Mrs. Nehru, Mrs. Bakabhai, Mrs. Priyambada Devi, Lady Sircar, Mrs. Thakur, Mrs. Besant. The Andhra Province has returned more than one hundred delegates including Mr. Ramachandra Row, Narsing, Venkatapathi Raju, Sitaram, V. L. Sastry, G. Ranga Naidu, Kumar, Raju, Ramaswami Pantulu. Quite a large number of Moderates joined this session of the Congress not only from Bengal but also from Madras and other parts. There were the Hon. Mr. B. Venkatapathi Raju, the Hon. Mr. C. V. Narsinga Raju, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Row, and Mr. A. P. Patrao.

Shortly before 1 p.m., the President entered the pandal in a procession of ex-Presidents and prominent members and Chairman of the Reception Committee and received an ovation, the cheering continuing till the procession reached the dais.
On the dais were seated besides the President and Chairman of the Reception Committee, Swami Shradhanand, the Maharaja of Natore the Raja of Digapahar, Messrs. Jannadav, Dwarakadas, Kelkar, Deshpande, V. J. Patel, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury, M. K. Gandhi, Shaikat Ali, Mrs. Besant, V. C. Hon. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chandra, the Hon. Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt, Messrs. C. R. Das, Bepin Chandra Pal, the Hon. Mr. Motilal Nehru, the Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain, the Hon. Mr. Ranga-swami Iyengar, Lala Harkishan Lal Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Satyapal, Sirdar Kissen Singh, Lala Govardhan Das, the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Jaffer Ali Khan, Dr. Sathaye, Dr. Welkar, Messrs. Khadikar, Baptista, Umar Sobani, Chaman Lal, Pawar, Joshi, Jaykar, and the Hon. Mr. Upasani.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of two stanzas, one in Bengali by a

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ROOT CAUSE OF PUNJAB'S AGONY.

PRUSSIAN CONCEPTION OF GOVERNMENT.

THE KHILAFAT WRONG.

BRITISH JUNKERDOM EXPOSED.

number of girls and the other in Hindi by Mahattari and Gujarati boys.

MR. CHAKRABARTI'S ADDRESS.

Songs being over, Mr. B. Chakravarti, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address. The speech was well received by the audience with repeated cheering and at times cries of "Shame." When he referred to the Khilafat question and Hindu-Moslem Unity, the enthusiasm of the audience was given expression to by loud cries of "Bande Mataram" and "Allaho Akbar." But the greatest enthusiasm was evidenced when Mr. Chakravarti said that they were unanimous as regards the policy of Non-Cooperation. He had to wait for full five minutes before the manifestation of enthusiasm subsided. The audience were, however, disappointed not to hear anything from Mr. Chakravarti as regards Non-Cooperation in practice and even the remedy suggested by Mr. Chakravarti failed to create any impression among the vast audience, who remained simply silent.

Mr. B. Chakravarti, in the course of his address, after paying homage to Mr. Tilak turned to the root cause of the present position and said:—For the last hundred and fifty years our economic resources have been uninteruptedly and increasingly exploited, by foreign, and particularly, British traders, protected by British Government in India. All that we have got from these so-called developments of our economic resources are the wages of our labour. And these wages have also gone back to a very large extent to these foreign exploiters themselves in the shape of prices of imported luxuries that have been thrust upon us, practically leaving little or no margin of these increased wages to the wage-earner to contribute to the national wealth and the economic staying power of his people.

CONGRESS SUB-COMMITTEE'S REPORT

Turning to the report of the Congress Sub-Committee on the Punjab affairs, Mr. Chakravarti endorsed every word and suggestion of the report and said:—The points which stand clearly and vividly out from the report of the Congress Committee are the following viz. (1) That there were no revolt and rebellion in the Punjab, nothing beyond casual rioting provoked almost, in every instance, by the unnecessary aggressiveness of the authorities, and which might easily have been suppressed by the civil power with prompt and tactful handling. (2) That the cause of the disturbances was not Satyagraha which acted as a moderating factor wherever the people were familiar with it, but the harsh and unsympathetic administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer acting upon local

causes, such as rigorous methods of recruiting, the pressure of the Income-Tax and widespread economic distress. (3) That the disturbances were magnified into a rebellion by the deliberate disingenuity of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who wanted some justification for the introduction of Martial Law and who intended by such application of Martial Law to crush all political life in the Punjab. (4) That in any case the disturbances such as they were having subsided either before the formal introduction of Martial Law, or immediately after its introduction, its continuance till the middle of June was absolutely unjustifiable. (5) That the administration of Martial Law, especially in Amritsar and Lahore and in parts of Gujranwalla, was attended by barbarities and shameful outrages such as constitute a stain upon civilisations and humanity. (6) That the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh was one unmitigated horror begun without provocation, continued with wanton inhumanity, and followed by callous and brutal neglect of the dead and dying.

HUNTER COMMITTEE REPORT.

Mr. Chakravarti then referred to the Hunter Committee report and said:—But if the Majority Report is tainted by bias, race prejudice, and insufficient consideration of the evidence, if its findings of fact are perverse and its inferences lame, harking after the same empty banalities about the error, honesty, and mistaken sense of duty and the whole thing ends with compliments all round including a compliment to Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose "energy," "decision" and "courage" receive a tribute of respect from his Majesty's Government. He next referred to the discussion of the Punjab question in Parliament and said:—Fellow delegates, I cannot speak for others. But speaking for myself, these repeated lessons have been enough for me, enough and too much. They have disillusioned me finally and for ever. They have cured in me the last lingering vestige of belief in that extremely hypothetical and illusory quantity the justice and good faith of the British Governing classes. They have reinforced in me the great outstanding lesson of history, viz., that a nation's leading strings is nation in helotage and that for all justice strength and help in evil you must look within and not without.

Turning to the Khilafat he said:—If the Mahomedan position is simply a clear question of religion and imperative duty the position of us Hindus is also equally plain and simple. In the first place, whatever the rights and wrongs of the question may be, we stand or fall by our Mahomedan brethren. Whatever course they may choose to adopt in this matter we stand by them, shoulder to shoulder, and the Government that chooses to reckon with them, will also have to reckon with us.

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NON-COOPERATION.

Speaking on non-cooperation movement Mr. Chakravarti said:—Perhaps it will be freely acknowledged that on the principle of Non-Cooperation, we are all united, and it will be acknowledged equally freely that upon details we differ. Yet if Non-Cooperation is to be used as a political weapon—and to use the movement has no meaning, or significance unless it is used as a political weapon—if it is to be used as a weapon for checking and paralyzing the activities of the bureaucracy it is these details of policy which will really count. Speaking for myself, I must humbly confess that I am not clear in my mind about these details, as to how far and how gradually they may be put in practice. One thing, however, is obvious to me, that whatever remedy may be accepted, must be the remedy of a permanent character, and not merely of a tentative nature, dictated by our indignation caused by the Punjab atrocities and the Khilafat policy. One such remedy surely is an effective endeavour to destroy our economic sordidness and the bondage of foreign exploitation.

DEMAND WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM "MESOPOTAMIA."

In conclusion Mr. Chakravarti said:—Take warning betimes, demand the whole-scale withdrawal of Indian troops from Mesopotamia, raise your voice in emphatic protest against the utter ignominy of Indian troops conquering a country from which their own people will be kicked out as soon as the country has been made safe for the white races. Above all, raise your voice against your troops fighting in an unjust and unrighteous cause, for gentlemen, apart from selfish material interests, there is a larger and deeper question touching this business of Indian troops fighting in Mesopotamia.

PRESIDENTS' ELECTION.

Mr. Chakravarti having finished his speech another patriotic song was sung by girls, after which the President was formally elected.

Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri moved that Lala Lajpat Rai do take the chair. He said that in making his obeisance to that great national assembly the Congress, he felt that he had come back to life again. It was a privilege to be with them. It was a privilege to be one of them and he felt that he was able to do some work during the few years that he had still to live and he hoped to be able to do that work with them as one of them. It was a matter of the greater regret that some persons whom he hoped to see on the platform and with whom he had been associated in his political work were not present. He was not saying that he was sorry for their own selves. He was sorry for those who were not present. It was unfortunate that they should not be there.

How could they hope to lead the people if they were not with the people.

"WE MUST GO FORWARD."

The things before them now, the political questions before them now, were very serious. Some people said that the political prospect was a bright one. There were many more who said that it was of no value to them. In fact, there was a growing feeling in the country that the creed of the Congress ought to be changed. There was to be no hide and seek in the matter. There must be a political evolution. They must go forward. Were they called upon to crawl upon their stomach or were they called upon to stand erect and walk erect and tell them "Although you may give me this or that I claim my birthright. I am not prepared to barter my birthright for a morsel of potage". A question of grave importance was before the country and it was ridiculous to say "I will not have this, I will not co-operate with you, I am prepared to co-operate with those who do not seek your co-operation."

There were people who said that hands had been stretched forward and it was for them to accept. Yet many of them know and they could see that behind the hand was the mailed fist. He asked them as to whether they were prepared to accept a question of that character without discussion or were they going to circulate the oracles from behind. The age of oracles had gone. He asked them to look at the veritable shame of Mother India. Clothed in rags in the market place would they like to see her clothed with the wrap of her own weaving on an occasion like that.

LALPAT RAI PROPOSED TO THE CHAIR.

In order to guide them in these political deliberations they must have a man who was strong and true. In inviting Lala Lajpat Rai to preside over their deliberations he wanted to tell them that he was both strong and true. He remembered the time when Lala Lajpat Rai was looked upon as the uncrowned King of the Punjab. The speaker was doing him an injustice. He was not the uncrowned King. The noblest crown on a man's head was the crown of thorns and Lala Lajpat Rai had the crown of thorns. The speaker expressed his confidence in Lala Lajpat Rai. The Chairman of the Reception Committee and the speaker appeared for the defence of Lala Lajpat Rai against certain charges of the English Press. They failed but the nation in one voice said:—"Here is the man who deserves our respect." And in inviting him to guide them in their deliberations, he was not only voicing their opinion, but he was also voicing the warm welcome which Bengal extended to him. There was no misapprehension with regard to Bengal. Lala Lajpat Rai had stated at a different place that they in Bengal had not done their duty and they were all ashamed of that. As a humble member of the Bengali community he knew that he was voicing the feelings of the people of Bengal when he said that they could not have a better man to guide them in their deliberations. With these words he moved that Lala Lajpat Rai do take the chair.

Pandit Motilal Nehru and Khan Bahadur Saharfaraz Hossain Khan seconded and supported the motion.

MRS. BESANT INTERRUPTED.

Mrs. Annie Besant was then called upon by the Chairman of the Reception Committee to support the proposal, but there was a tremendous shout of "Shame", "Shame", "Shame". The Chairman of the Reception Committee tried to keep order, but with no effect. Then rose Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya respectively, but they too were unable to restore order. Mr. Gandhi was then requested to address the audience.

MR. GANDHI'S POWERFUL APPEAL.

Mr. Gandhi said:—I want to appeal to those who to their shame and to the shame of this great assembly are trying to prevent an authorised speaker from addressing the audience. I want to appeal to every one in this assembly. If you have gathered together in order to demand justice, it is your first and great duty to render justice. Do not mistake the position that Mrs. Besant has taken up. Do not mistake that it is a position which is wilfully inimical to the country. You will have to tolerate differences between the best of your men and women as that will be the first test of your ability to govern yourselves. If you are about to inaugurate non-cooperation you will be making a bad and sad beginning, and therefore I appeal to every one of you and therefore I appeal to Mrs. Besant is not merely to listen to Mrs. Besant but

Save! never the British connection of 17

and was the mad people of the South-West Punjab, who desolated many a home by harbouring chimerical views of establishing an Islamic Kingdom through German aid. He put down the Ghadr movement in a merciless manner, and we fear, not without inflicting injustice on hundreds of innocent men. He affected to consider the pillage of defenceless homes in the South-West Punjab in 1915 by treating the pillage in the early stage as mere grain riots, and took energetic measures only when his hands were absolutely forced and when he saw that these depredations were becoming so serious that they might even jeopardise the work of recruiting."

EXCLUSION OF NATIONALIST PAPERS.
There are two incidents referred to in these paragraphs which require a little amplification. One relates to the absolutely unwarranted arbitrariness with which he dealt with the press in ordering it not to publish proceedings of a meeting that had been held in the Bradlaugh Hall to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant. The absurdity of this order dawned on his mind only when the papers from the other Provinces arrived containing an account of the proceedings. The order was then withdrawn and it became necessary for his purpose to exclude from the Province some of the foremost organs of nationalist opinion.

ORDER AGAINST MESSRS. PAL AND TILAK.

As to the embargo on Messrs. Pal and Tilak he had to defend his position by comparing their propaganda with that of the S.W. Punjab riots and the Ghadr party. In the course of a speech in the Local Council he remarked:—

"Such changes" (as are involved in compliance with the demands of the Home Rulers) "would be as revolutionary in their character and I believe as subversive of the existing constitution as those which the Ghadr emissaries endeavoured to bring about. Indeed it is not without significance to find that the catch word of the thousands who participated in the dacoities of the South-West Punjab two years ago and of many of the men who fomented the Ghadr conspiracy on the Pacific Coast was *Swarajya* or Home Rule, and the hundreds of the emigrants who returned to the Punjab to spread rebellion in the Province by fire and sword claimed that their object was to establish Home Rule."

TWO BIG LIES (A) SOUTH-WEST RIOTS.

I have italicised certain words in this extract as they contain two statements which the Lieutenant-Governor must have known to be false and which he deliberately injected into his speech, to discredit the movement for Home Rule, and to overawe the people of the Punjab by an absolutely unjustifiable comparison between the movement for Home Rule and the other two movements referred to in the lines italicised. The movement in the South-West Punjab which resulted in numerous outrages on defenceless Hindu homes was the direct outcome of the ignorance and inefficiency of the administration, of the impression created by them that Mahomedans were the favoured of the Government against Hindus, and also of the dense ignorance in which the people of the Province were kept by the denial to them of the benefits of education as well as opportunities for constitutional political propaganda.

People who took part in the riots in the South-West of the Punjab probably had never heard of the Home Rule movement, and it has never been alleged that any of them used that phrase. It is a strong evidence of the inefficiency of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration that he and his subordinates at first refused to treat them seriously and insisted on ascribing them to economic reasons by calling them as mere grain riots, and this in face of the opinion of an experienced Police officer to the contrary. No less than 128 crimes of violence were committed in the course of these disturbances, in the districts of Jhang, Multan and Muzaffargarh, between the 22nd of February and the 20th of March, but none of these disturbances were ascribed to the Home Rule movement by Mr. John Coatsman, the Police officer referred to above. In his opinion:—

"The Mahomedans were able to be persuaded that the British had left India and that they might fairly take advantage of the state of interregnum until the arrival of the Germans." "It is in these cases that we find the dacoits describing themselves as subjects of the German Emperor and declaring that the British Rule had ceased to exist in India. About two hundred men took part in this affair, proclaiming themselves subjects of the German Emperor, who they said, had given them permission to loot as they pleased." "German men went about the neighbourhood hamlets and villages informing the Mahomedans that the Germans were within few days' march of Jatoi and that they had received *carte blanche* from German Emperor and behave as they pleased. Many gangs assembled, the large designating themselves 'Black Germans', 'Yellow Germans', 'Red', 'Germans', 'Green Germans' gang and the like."

It is said in the Administration Report of the Punjab for 1915-16:—

"The dacoities and disorder that occurred in the Jhang, Muzaffargarh and Multan districts in February and March were unprecedented in the annals of criminal administration of the Province." The acts of violence included murder, loot, rape, etc. The facts that emerge out of this incident may be thus summarised:—(a) that in spite of all his boasting about the efficiency of the Punjab administration, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his associates in the work of administration were entirely out of touch with public feeling in the South-West districts, (b) that by their inefficiency and exaggerated self-sufficiency they allowed themselves to be taken by surprise, (c) that in spite of all resources of modern civilisation at their disposal, viz., a complete system of postal and telegraphic communications and a complete network of railways, they let the most fearful outrages be committed on the persons and the property of the Hindus of the Jhang for a period of about a month, and then tried to conceal their inefficiency under a false pretence, (d) that even when the true significance of the disorders was made clear to them they never applied for the introduction of Martial Law, and never charged any of the accused with waging war against the King, or conspiring to overthrow his Government. (e) According to the Administration Report the maximum sentences ranged from 5 to 7 years only, (in one place it is

said, from 5 to 10 years) and out of 4,000 arrested only 700 could be convicted.

I do not suggest that there was any occasion for more drastic measures. Speaking for myself and in your name, I should have as strongly condemned the introduction of Martial Law and the trial of these cases under martial law as I emphatically do in the case of the disturbances of last year. I only draw attention to this matter because it is useful to compare the attitude of the Lieutenant-Governor in relation to this affair, with what he subsequently did in 1919. The reasons are obvious. This was a rising of the uneducated people who belonged to the rural classes and Sir Michael O'Dwyer had no bias against them. Besides he had yet to learn that he was not to run before him and was afraid of revenge. Yet he had the cheek to use this incident for the purpose of preventing leaders of the Home Rule movement from visiting Lahore, Amritsar and other such urban areas on the ostensible ground that similar outrages may be encouraged by their propaganda.

(B) GHADR CONSPIRACY CASE.
Equally unscrupulous is the other comparison.

prosecute and punish the principal offenders, as it is clear that the chief conspirators did come out to India with the express purpose of creating a bloody revolution. But even in the course of this trial we see a fairly good exhibition of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's mind. It expressed itself in the method of investigation as well as in the course of trial. In investigation that evidence was collected by a discredited Russian method of using agent provocateurs. In the trial persons were involved against whom there was practically no evidence. One of such persons was Bhai Permand, a Master of Arts of the Punjab University, who had been for some time a Professor of Dayananda College. His chief offence was that he had written a History of India which was not to the liking of the officials. This good man was sentenced to death on the flimsiest possible evidence by the two European members of the Special Tribunal, the 3rd member, who was an Indian, disagreeing about the sentence. The sentence was confirmed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and commuted later to life imprisonment by Lord

What steps Sir Michael O'Dwyer took to prevent the people of the Punjab from associating themselves with this Scheme have already been stated above in the words of the Congress Commissioners. But when Sir Michael O'Dwyer was practically certain of having suppressed the political movement in the Punjab by his Prussian methods there came the epoch-making pronouncement of Mr. Montagu, about the future Government of India. This upset all his calculations. He lost his balance of mind. In the course of a speech he was making on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Mahomed Shafi asking for the assimilation of the Legislative and Administrative systems in the Punjab with those of the Provinces of Bihar and Orissa, he created a most undesirable scene. First, he said that in the Punjab the conditions set forth by Mills as indispensable for Self-Government were not likely to be fulfilled for many a long day, then he belaboured the Punjab for its services in the war to the disparagement of other Provinces and finally hurled the following insult at the educated classes:—

"In these days when we are in danger of

soil, the man behind the plough and the man whose life is a long drawn question between a crop and a crop," we know how empty were his words. What is the evidence of his benevolence for these classes,—their right to die in extravagant numbers in plague and influenza which practically swept away whole villages, the utter inadequacy of medical relief, the deplorable want of sanitation in villages, their extreme backwardness in education, their help less submission to the tortures and outrages which his myrmidons committed on them during the recruiting campaign and the progress of the War Loan, including many illegal prosecutions that were launched against them. The only tangible form which his solicitude for the martial classes took was the picking out of a number of men from among his creatures, for the grant of titles, Jagirs, rewards, grants of lands, etc. How then have helped the man on the soil and the man whose life is a long drawn battle between a crop and a crop is known only to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. In fact these rewards and grants furnish the gravamen of a serious charge against him, viz., (a) of misusing public funds

cated classes and their leaders. In a previous speech he had called them "fools." In this memorandum he likens them to "Grasshoppers," particularly pouring his venom on the devoted heads of the leaders of the Home Rule movement, Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Jinnah, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Raja of Mahmudabad by name.

HIS MEMORANDUM.

The most important parts of this memorandum, however, are:—

(a) In which he deplores the revival of political agitation in the Punjab caused by the Secretary of State's pronouncement of the 17th August, 1917.

Says he:—"Here I may endeavour to explain the curious fact that the Punjab deputations as a whole have shown less hostility to the Congress-League programme or the Home Rule movement than similar bodies in other Provinces (another untruth)."

"The events of 1907, the Delhi Conspiracy case in 1912-14, the Ghadr movement in 1914-15, had shown the dangers of violent political agitation among the many disorderly elements in the Province, and the Punjab Government had even before the outbreak of the war taken strong measures to prevent its spread. The war and the necessity of excluding any influences that would interfere with recruiting made a continuance of that policy essential. Hence the orders passed a year ago to exclude Messrs. Tilak and Pal, who were about to undertake a Home Rule propaganda in the Province, and other similar measures. That action had the approval and support of the great mass of the people, and till a few months ago political agitation was at a discount in the Province. Even the Secretary of State's announcement in August 1917 caused little stir." (The italics are mine).

"The proceedings of September last in the Simla Council, the release of Mrs. Besant, the attitude of the Government of India in the simultaneous examination and in other debates, were however interpreted to mean that the Government of India would not allow Local Government to interfere with their policy of conciliating the extremists. The small section of advanced politicians in the Punjab, hitherto quiescent, were encouraged to assert themselves, and to come into line with other provinces. Local branches of the Congress sprang into life and renewed their activity, and the invitation to frame political programme for the Secretary of State's visit furnished them with a raison d'être. This was all natural and reasonable."

The statement that his action against Messrs. Tilak and Pal had the approval and support of the mass of the people is of course wholly and demonstrably untrue.

(b) His machiavellian wish to use one religion or one political party against the other.

Says he:—"If, however, the system advocated in the report is adopted, there are advantages as well as risks in having more than one Minister. The risk that they might overawe the Indian member of Council is greater if there are two or three than if there is only one. On the other hand, if there are more Ministers than one, it is unlikely that they will all belong to the same religion, or the same political party, and each would act as a counterpoise to his colleagues. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks on the whole that if political rather than financial considerations are to prevail the advantage is on the side of plurality." The italics are again mine.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE PUNJAB.

But however much he disliked the pronouncement of 1917, it was the scheme eventually propounded by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford which excited his utmost indignation. What exasperated him most was the fact that in spite of all that he had done to crush political life in the Punjab, the educated classes still dared to raise their heads and carry on their agitation. They held public meetings at Lahore. They convened a Provincial Conference and passed resolutions. They attended in fairly large numbers the meetings of the Congress at Bombay and Delhi, and lastly they invited the Congress to Amritsar. They decided to hold a Provincial Conference at Jullundur, elected Mr. Harkishan Lal to the office of President and also nominated him a member of the Congress Deputation that was going to England to press for changes in the Reform Scheme. The whole of Sir Michael's policy in April and May 1919 was directed to prevent this from taking place and to make it impossible for the Punjab ever in future to do such things. It was necessary for him to do so in order to prove that the statements he had made about the political unfitness of the people of the Punjab were true. The agitation against the Rowlett Act gave the opportunity, and as he was about to leave the Province for good, he wanted to make the best use of the short time before him. The first thing he did was to silence the leaders who had invited the Congress to Amritsar. They were Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Ketur Mal. Dr. Satyapal was closely associated with them. The following questions and answers extracted from the evidence of Mr. Miles Irving (the then Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar), support my contention:—

Q. Was there an all-India Congress down to be held in Amritsar?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. When was that to come off?

A. It was to come off about now, in October or November.

Q. And did that circumstance bring into prominence the Local Congress Committee?

A. Yes, Sir, it did. They were naturally busily engaged in the organisation and it also was a circumstance uniting Mahomedans and Hindus in politics.

Q. As regards the Local Congress Committee, had it an Executive Committee?

A. An Executive Committee of six.

Q. Any of those six have been tried?

A. Two were put on trial.

Q. Who were those two?

A. I am afraid I cannot remember now.

ORDER AGAINST DR. SATYAPAL.

The first step was to silence Dr. Satyapal. On the 29th of March orders under the Defence of India Act were served on him preventing him from speaking in public. There was no disturbance of any kind on the 29th of March. There was a meeting on the 30th of April, in which, according to Mr. Miles Irving's testimony, the principal speaker advised the people to abstain from acts of violence:—

Q. What effect did that have on the community at Amritsar?

A. The effect, as it appeared to me, was manifested in a meeting on April the 2nd

CONGRESS PRESIDENT.



LALA LAJPAT RAI.

President of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress, now being held in Calcutta, Inset—Mr. Byomkesh Chakrabarti, Bar-at-Law, the famous Nationalist leader of Bengal, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

son with the Ghadr movement. In the course of the Ghadr conspiracy trial, numerous extracts from the Ghadr newspaper of San Francisco were put on the record, which proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Ghadr leaders aspired and worked for complete independence involving separation of India from the British Empire and the establishment of a Republic; that they preached open rebellion and open war against the British; that they ridiculed and held up to contempt the Home Rule movement and the leaders thereof. Yet, in spite of all this, Sir Michael O'Dwyer did not hesitate to say that the Ghadr people had used the Home Rule shibboleth for the purpose of a revolution.

Coming to the conspiracy trial, it is not my intention to find fault with the attempt to

Hardinge. In the first trial (there were three trials relating to the same conspiracy) the special Tribunal sentenced 24 persons to death, 16 of whom in the opinion of the Viceroy did not deserve it. Lord Hardinge took particular care to say in the course of his order that he commuted these sentences not in the exercise of his prerogative, but because the evidence on the record did not justify the sentences. This was a clear censure both on the Tribunal and the Lieutenant-Governor. But Sir Michael O'Dwyer swallowed it quietly.

SPEECH IN IMPERIAL COUNCIL FOR WHICH HE HAD TO APOLOGIZE.

In December, 1916, was promulgated the historic Congress-Muslim League Scheme, demanding Self-Government on certain lines,

being deafened by political harangues and by being blinded by the shower of political manifestoes, it is well occasionally to return to mother earth to clear up our minds of shams and illusions, and to ask ourselves what will all this noise and talk do for the man on the soil the man behind the plough, the man whose life is a long drawn question between a crop and a crop."

It was for this speech that he was made to apologize. But a few days later, on the 30th of October, he forgot all about his apology and in another speech made in the Punjab repeated the same sentiments making a further mischievous statement about the claims of the martial classes to the special consideration of the Government as against the educated classes. Notwithstanding the hypocritical solicitude which he professed for "the man on the

and public lands. (b) of exalting those whom he had picked up for use against the educated classes of their countrymen so as to create a permanent breach between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects. Evidence of this we find in the statements which some of these proteges of Sir Michael O'Dwyer gave regarding the Reform Scheme wherein they derided the educated classes as "noisy agitators," a favourite expression of Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself so often repeated in his gubernatorial utterances. The newly coined distinction between the rural and the urban classes is another gift of his to the Province.

On page 14 of their Report, the Congress Commissioners have described his memorandum on the Reform Scheme and have shown how insulting, provocative, unjust and untruthful are his vituperations against the ad-

in which one Swami Satya Dev came down and advised against violence for the present. He seemed, as the report reached me, to hold out a prospect in future when, as he said, people would go to jail in thousands, foreboding, as I understand, some form of concerted action under a paralysed Government. But his immediate advice to the people was to abstain from all acts of violence till that time.

DR. KITCHELW.

On the 4th of April similar orders were served on Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Kola Mal. These orders emanated from the Punjab Government and they were implicitly obeyed. We have the statement of Mr. Miles Irving that between the 4th and the 9th April nothing happened which could be formed the basis of any action against them.

Q. I just want to know, so far as your knowledge goes, if you can inform this Committee as to whether anything specially objectionable was said or done between the 9th March and 10th April by Dr. Kitchlew to justify the order of deportation?

A. He practically ordered the arrest of the 6th. That is one thing.

Q. And anything else?

A. I cannot think of anything else.

Q. And you are quite certain that so far as the orders go he did not intend to contravene them?

A. I had no case for taking action against him in any way.

OWDYER RESPONSIBLE FOR DEPORTATION OF DR. KITCHELW AND SATYAPAL.

Yet on the 10th of April Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were arrested for deportation under an order for which the sole responsibility rests on Sir Michael O'Dwyer as Mr. Miles Irving is positive that he had no hand in that order. He neither suggested nor recommended the deportation order.

Q. You have already informed this Committee that you did not suggest or recommend the deportation of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew.

A. It was not my suggestion.

In fact on a previous occasion he had intervened in favour of Dr. Kitchlew. The Minority of the Hunter Committee have remarked (page 12) that Mr. Kitchlew, the Commissioner of Lahore and Amritsar, said that there was no anti-British feeling before the 10th of April, and Mr. Miles Irving has expressed the same view. The Majority after discussion of the event that led to the passing of the deportation order (page 20 and 21) also supports that conclusion. It will thus be seen that the order of deportation against Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, for which Sir Michael O'Dwyer alone was responsible, was the real beginning and the root cause of all the trouble that ensued at Amritsar on the 10th, and in the rest of the Punjab after that. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is then the person who is responsible for all the bloodshed that occurred in the Punjab in the month of April. His action was both malicious and rash. It was malicious because it emanated from the desire to punish Dr. Kitchlew for having invited the Congress to the Punjab and thereby prevent the session being held there. It was rash, because he had apparently failed to keep himself in touch with the popular feeling in the Punjab and based his order on the expectation that the people would not resent it as it was in the line of the general trend of Mr. Miles Irving's statements about this.

Both the "hateful" that of the 30th March and of the 6th April, had passed off peacefully. If Sir Michael O'Dwyer had not deported Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal and had not passed the order he did against Mr. Gandhi, the country would have been saved all the misery and bloodshed that followed the passing of these orders. These orders were entirely unjustified and unnecessary. The Local officers had not asked for them. No facts have been alleged to show that the situation in the Punjab was in any way serious or more serious than anywhere else. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi, the Governors of Bombay and Bengal kept their heads cool and saved this situation. But Sir Michael O'Dwyer had prompted the Hon. Raizada Bhagat Ram on the 7th to show that his force was superior to Gandhi's and it was necessary for him to do something dramatic to redeem his word. He asked for the introduction of Martial Law under an entirely false plea, "open rebellion in pursuance of a pre-concerted organised conspiracy." The theory of this organised conspiracy has completely broken down. The Hunter Committee have unanimously found against it (page 75 and 76 of the report). They say—

"We find no evidence in the material before us of a pre-concerted conspiracy, as the main spring of disorders."

The Minority have gone further and said that there was no rebellion at all. Yet it was on this basis that original sanction for the introduction of Martial Law was asked for and granted. It was on the same theory that the Lahore leaders were charged with being members of a conspiracy to wage war against the Government, and when it was discovered that Ordinance No. 1 of 1919 with its limitations did not give sufficient power to effectively attack and break up the organisation behind the disturbances and to deal properly with the local leaders, a further application was made for extensive application of the Ordinance to any person charged with any offence committed on or after the 30th March, and for authorising the Martial Law Commissioners to pass any sentence authorised by law. Most of the political leaders in the Punjab, including Lala Harikishan Lal who had never made any speech nor written any article, nor taken any active part in the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, were charged with being members of this pre-concerted conspiracy that was alleged to have existed before the 30th March and it was on that assumption that they were convicted and punished. The Martial Law Commissioners and the Tribunals took judicial notice of the existence of a state of rebellion and presumed the existence of a conspiracy. They refused to go into evidence as to whether there was a state of war in the Punjab. There was no evidence produced at the trials or even before the Hunter Committee six months after the outbreak of the existence of this conspiracy, while numerous persons had in the meantime been sentenced to death and

to transportation for life for the offence of being members of this conspiracy and waging war against His Majesty the King. On page 71, the Majority have held that "on the evidence before us there is nothing to show that the outbreak in the Punjab was part of a pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force." What does this signify except that Sir Michael O'Dwyer invented this theory, without any justification for a bona fide belief in its existence for the purpose of vindictive and malicious revenge on those who had defied his authority and his wishes? To gain this end most effectively he further proceeded to bar and prohibit all means of publicity by closing the Province both by lawyers and to publishers of the highest repute and of the most indisputable integrity. He deceived the Government of India by suggesting that he was asking for the concurrence of the General Officer Commanding the Chief Justice of the High Court. The General Officer Commanding has testified before the Hunter Committee that he did nothing of the kind and the Chief Justice of the High Court is dead. Says the Minority Report of the Hunter Committee—

It may be pointed out here that in the wireless of the 13th of April the Punjab Government in suggesting the declaration of Martial Law said that they were doing so "with concurrence of General Officer Commanding and Chief Justice, High Court." The General Officer Commanding, General Bynon, was asked about this and the following is his evidence on this point—

Q. That proclamation was signed by you on the 13th of April. You had been the highest military officer in this part of the world for some substantial time before that, and may I take it that you gave advice upon the question whether Martial Law was necessary before the question was referred to the Government of India at all?

A. It was mentioned to me, but I do not think that you can really say my advice was given. At all events I had nothing to do with the bringing in of Martial Law. (Italics are mine).

Six months after the event Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his Chief Secretary and other Punjab officers were asked to explain why the introduction of Martial Law was necessary and with what object was its introduction asked for. Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner in charge of Lahore, stated as follows—

Q. If there were no other considerations the civil authorities could soon after the 11th, that is, on the 12th, 13th or 14th, as the case may be, have taken back control and carried on with such aid as might have been necessary from the military?

A. Yes, in individual places.

Q. According to your statement in almost all places?

A. Yes.

Q. But your view is, that Martial Law was wanted, not for the purpose of getting control but for the purpose of what you describe as preventing the spread of infection?

A. Yes.

Q. And that is your only justification for Martial Law being declared?

A. That was the immediate reason.

Q. And also I take it the second important reason from your point of view to provide for the speedy disposal of the cases of persons who had already been arrested the 10th and 13th?

A. That is a reason which weighed with me, I have no reason to suppose that it weighed with any one else.

Q. In your view those were the two main reasons for the declaration of Martial Law, preventing the spread of infection and finding some speedy method of disposing of the cases of persons already arrested?

A. Yes.

In his written statement before the Hunter Committee, Sir Michael O'Dwyer has tried to invent all sorts of reasons which his imagination helped him to and classified them under 9 heads. The Minority Report has analysed them in a masterly way and has come to the conclusion that none of them was tenable, pointing out the untruthful nature of several statements of fact made by the late Lieutenant-Governor.

NO VALID REASON TO CONTOVERT MINORITY'S FINDINGS.

Neither the Majority of the Hunter Committee nor the Government of India have given any valid reason to controvert the findings of the Minority. They have used the judgment of the Martial Law Tribunals in supporting their findings knowing full well that these tribunals had based their decisions on the statements in the Ordinance. The outstanding facts are—

(a) That in the Punjab nothing violent happened except after the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal.

(b) That on the 10th also, the first shot was fired by the authorities resulting in several casualties, the sight of which exasperated the mobs who in a frenzied state of mind committed several diabolical deeds which have unreservedly been condemned and deplored by all sections of the community.

(c) That as soon as the people got time to think, they were sorry for their deeds. On the 11th and 12th the Civil Authorities had no trouble in the city of Amritsar and proceeded to make arrests without any opposition or disturbance.

(d) That on the afternoon of the 13th when Sir Michael O'Dwyer applied for Martial Law, the situation was well in hand, and there was no ground for the supercession of ordinary civil authority.

(e) That the subsequent blaze in the Gujranwala District, the happenings at Lyallpur and Gujrat were the result of the Jallianwallah Bagh incident, as found by the Hon'ble Mian Mohamed Shafi.

(f) That at no time was the situation so desperate as to call for the introduction of Martial Law.

(g) That the statement about attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the police and the soldiers have been disproved.

(h) That the menace of the Afghan invasion had not yet developed, and

(i) That Martial Law was only brought in

for preventive or punitive purposes or for "teaching a lesson."

At this stage one might ask another question. If the situation was so serious why did not the Lieutenant-Governor make any attempt to find it out for himself? The distance from Lahore to Amritsar being only 35 miles by road can be traversed in less than an hour.

CONTINUANCE OF MARTIAL LAW.

As regards the continuance of Martial Law, even the Majority have said that "the wisdom of continuing Martial Law for the whole length of time it remained effective in the Punjab is more open to objection than the original declaration." The Minority after dealing with the subject ably and exhaustively has condemned it outright. I will not therefore discuss the matter at length. But I think for facility of reference it will be necessary for me to make one or two large extracts from this part of the Minority Report.

It has been freely admitted by responsible officers of the Punjab Government, like Mr. Kitchin and Mr. Thompson, that Martial Law was introduced more for punitive and preventive purposes and for the punishment of offenders by summary procedure, than for the actual suppression of any rebellion. It was natural, therefore, that it should have been continued for a longer period than would otherwise have been the case.

Here again personal responsibility of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is unmistakable. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was under orders to go. His period of office had expired. The new Lieutenant-Governor had come, and was in the ordinary course of events to have taken over charge on the 26th April. But charge was not given to him because it was Sir Michael's wish to complete the work of ruining the Indian Leaders and taking his revenge on the educated classes and of devastating the province before he divested himself of power. He therefore, did everything possible to extend the period of Martial Law. Unfortunately the Government of India proved too weak and succumbed to his wishes.

The glaring injustice of the tragedy can not be easily comprehended unless one keeps in mind, all the time, the flagrant abuses of the Martial Law for vindictive and punitive purposes as was made clear by the barbarous orders promulgated during the administration of Martial Law and the inhuman treatment meted out to, and the savage sentences inflicted on, all "offenders," big or small, high or low, but mostly educated and respectable.

We have the statement of the Punjab Government that "on the 16th April (Martial Law was declared at Amritsar and Lahore on the 15th at Gujranwala, on the 16th at Gujrat practically against the wishes of the district Officer on the 19th, and at Lyallpur on the 24th) order began slowly to assert itself. No large town was henceforth seriously affected and the disorder was confined to isolated attacks on the communications and to outrages by the villagers. By the 19th matters may be said to have returned to the normal in the greater part of the province. There is no further record of open disorder."

The Indian Members of the Hunter Committee have carefully examined the various communications that passed between the Punjab Government and the Government of India on the subject and they say—

"The reason for continuing Martial Law after the disorders had ceased, are stated by the Punjab Government thus—

"The course of Martial Law administration subsequent to that (termination of disorder) was really in nature a substitute of civil administration of a summary type, of which the primary objects were to establish a morale which would afford a guarantee against the recurrence of disorder, to safeguard railway and telegraph communications against further interruptions and to restore the position of Government as the guarantor of peace and good order which had been sacrificed between the 10th and 17th April."

"(So far as the object to be achieved was the establishment of a proper morale and to restore the position of the Government by which we suppose is meant to restore the prestige of Government, we do not think it affords a sufficient justification for subjecting the whole population of large districts to Martial Law administration."

"Sir Michael O'Dwyer's reasons for continuing Martial Law, after disorders had ceased, are the same reasons which he gave for the initial introduction of Martial Law and we have sufficiently dealt with them in a previous section. We may observe that some of these reasons, particularly 3 to 6, had lost much of their force by the experience of the period between the 10th and the 26th as none of the apprehensions underlying these reasons had materialised."

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S OBJECTIONS.

"The Government of India were, it appears, urging upon the Punjab Government that the continuance of Martial Law in any area must depend on the continuance of a state of rebellion in that area. When in their telegram of the 26th April, in urging the establishment of Summary Courts for the minor offences the Punjab Government said that unless that was done Martial Law might unnecessarily be protracted, because the powers of the Commissions depended on the existence of Martial Law and those Commissions would not be able to dispose of all the cases speedily, the Government of India in their reply of the 26th April said as follows—

"Government of India think termination of Martial Law in any area must depend entirely on continuance of a state of rebellion in that area; and the fact that cases are pending before Courts established under Regulation is not an adequate reason for suspension of ordinary law."

"It appears from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's evidence that the Government of India enquired on the 3rd May, if Martial Law could not then be withdrawn. The Punjab Government held on the 14th May, 1919, a Conference with the Military and Railway authorities and prepared a memorandum in reply.

"A careful perusal of that memorandum is instructive. In our opinion the question was discussed from an altogether a wrong point of view. The real question to discuss was as put by the Government of India, whether there was such a state of rebellion in the districts in question as to justify the continu-

ance of Martial Law. Instead of that, the matter was considered from the point of view as to what the advantages were that were to be derived from the continuance of Martial Law. The memorandum after discussing the question from the military and railway points of view (we have already dealt with these points) says—

From the civil point of view it was considered that the following advantages are being derived from the continuance of Martial Law:—(1) It has undoubtedly steady effect on the population not only within the Martial Law areas but also outside. (2) In Lahore the fixing of prices is popular with masses. If Martial Law were discontinued this would have to be done by means of a Special Ordinance. (3) It is proposed to recover from the disturbed areas by means of a levy made under Martial Law a sufficient amount to cover certain incidental expenses which cannot be recovered by claims under Section 15-A, of the Police Act. Among the items which have been suggested are—

(i) The cost of military operations.

(ii) The cost of extra defences which the disturbances have shown to be necessary, e.g., at the Lahore Telegraph Office and the power station.

(iii) The cost of sending women and children out of the disturbed area and maintaining them in the Hills (orders sanctioning a levy for this purpose have already been issued in certain cases though as far as is known the levy has not yet been made). The objection based on the desirability of recovering these sums of money from the disturbed areas is, however, not insuperable as it would be possible to authorise their recovery under a Special Ordinance.

(iv) It is considered desirable that in order to avoid demonstrations the trials of the principal offenders before the Martial Law Commissions should be completed before Martial Law is discontinued. It is expected that all the most important cases will be decided by the end of the month.

"In the above memorandum the Punjab Government put forward an additional reason for continuing Martial Law which further emphasises their notion about this matter to which we have already referred. In paragraph 5 they support the continuance of Martial Law on the ground that it will enable them to exclude from the Province persons from outside the Province who are likely to publish inflammatory or misleading accounts of the events in the Punjab without having resort to the Defence of India Act."

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S SECOND ATTEMPT.

Here is presented in concentrated form the whole mentality of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Punjab officials working under him. They wanted to complete their work of destruction and in order to be able to do so without let or hindrance they wanted the prevention of publicity as well as the lawlessness of the Martial Law powers. But the Government of India was not yet convinced. They made two more efforts to assert their authority; but in the end capitulated. Says the Minority Report—

"The Government of India by their telegrams of the 18th and 26th May intimated that Martial Law in Gujrat and Lyallpur ought to be continued. In the latter telegram they said they are also strongly of opinion that the cessation of martial law should be expedited. Your particular attention is invited to the terms of the Regulation for the condition precedent to the continuance of Martial Law."

The Punjab Government in their memorandum of the 22nd May in referring to the above, say as follows—"In the last sentence of your telegram you draw attention to the terms of the Regulation as to the conditions precedent to the continuance of Martial Law. The suggestion is that it would be an exaggeration to describe the existing state of affairs as open rebellion. The Lieutenant-Governor recognises the weight of this criticism; but in so far as it is a technical objection to the continuance of Martial Law it can be cured by publishing a notification containing a reference to the existence of a state of war with Afghanistan which has supervened since the 15th April, when Martial Law was first declared. That a state of open rebellion no longer existed in the districts concerned was in the view of the Lieutenant-Governor only a technical objection. It was not realised that that was the fundamental condition on which the whole justification for Martial Law rested. The objection technical as it appeared to the Lieutenant-Governor, does not appear to have been cured in the manner suggested by him. It is difficult to hold that existence of the state of war with Afghanistan could support the continuance of Martial Law in the districts concerned if the stage of the alleged open rebellion had ceased long ago. The Punjab Government were apparently unwilling to discontinue Martial Law early even in Gujrat and Lyallpur. But the Government of India by their telegram of 30th May intimated that it should be abrogated from Gujrat at once and from Lyallpur "as soon as reports from that district indicate that this step can be taken."

In fact the discontinuance of Martial Law at Lyallpur was delayed as late as the 9th June, presumably because the district officers were not in favour of such discontinuance. Certain correspondence between the Commissioner, Multan Division and the Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, which was produced before us, shows that one of the objects for continuing Martial Law was to avoid trouble in getting in land revenue. The Commissioner in his letter dated the 26th May, 1919, says as follows—"His Honour spoke to me about Martial Law in your district. It is now the only rural area in which Martial Law exists. It has been kept on only because of the scare that there might be trouble in getting in revenue. I told his Honour that I understood that your fears on this subject had been somewhat diminished during the last few days and that if an adequate military force is maintained in Lyallpur Martial Law is not required in any place at Lyallpur except the town, its vicinity and the Railway. If you have anything to say against this view, will you please write direct to the Chief Secretary and send a copy to me."

MARTIAL LAW ORDER.

You will thus see what an opportunity this Martial Law was for the Punjab bureaucracy to impose their will on the people of the Punjab. But the worst has yet to come. When you

sit down and examine the orders promulgated by the Martial Law administrators with the full cognisance and consent of the Civil authorities and apparently under the inspiration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer you lose your breath.

Chapter V of the Minority Report opens with the following observations—

"A careful consideration of the various Martial Law orders in the different districts leaves an impression that over and above securing the maintenance of law and order they were designed and were used for punitive purposes, they interfered considerably with the ordinary life of people and caused much hardship and inconvenience. Such interference so far as really necessary, cannot be objected to but in our view as stated hereafter some of them were not necessary. Although these orders were issued by the Martial Law administrators in whom the power was legally vested, so far as the headquarters were concerned the civil authorities were in touch with the Martial Law administrators and in Lahore there were daily consultations between the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Secretary and the Military authorities. Some of the Martial Law orders had the approval of the Civil authorities, and some were issued at their suggestions. Mr. Thompson says that, as a rule, on matters connected with the ordinary life of the people, they were consulted before orders were promulgated. Regarding these Regulations the Punjab Government in their case say: "They involved no inconsiderable interference with the ordinary life of the people" and that the total effect was punitive and to some extent restrictive." They further admit "The Curfew orders, the restrictions on travelling, the imprisonment of vehicles, the orders regarding roll-calls unquestionably involved much inconvenience to the people of Lahore."

About the administration of Martial Law in Lahore the Minority say that it was administered "intensively." The proper word in my judgment is "barbarously." All this was done under the very nose of the Lieutenant-Governor and with his knowledge and apparently with his consent.

MAJORITY'S CONDEMNATION OF MARTIAL LAW ORDERS.

Even the Majority have felt constrained to condemn some of these orders in language which is rather strong when compared with the tenor of the rest of their Report.

"As regards the Martial Law orders and cases arising out of the breach thereof we think it unfortunate that, in several important respects, Martial Law assumed an intensive form as it did. It was not being administered in an enemy country but in a country, where, on the restoration of normal conditions it was advisable that Martial Law administration should leave behind as little feeling of bitterness and unfairness as possible. Some of the orders issued were injudicious. They served no good purpose and were not, in our opinion, drawn with sufficient tact to prevent undue annoyance to the civil population."

The Majority have selected certain orders such as the Curfew Order of General Dyer, the Saluam Order passed by General Campbell, orders passed against students by Colonel Johnson, dogging orders passed by him, and some of the fancy punishments invented by Captain Deyton for specific mention and mild condemnation. The Minority have, as usual, gone more fully into the matter and pointed out a number of other orders which would seem to any one disposed to take even a moderate view of the duties and functions of Government, to be entirely barbarous and uncalled for. They first examine the orders passed by Col. Johnson and take exception to the order requiring every Ward in the city to keep at least four representatives from 5 a.m. till 5 p.m. at the Water Works station to learn what orders, if any, were issued and convey such orders to the inhabitants of their Ward. Col. Johnson ruled that the onus of ascertaining the orders passed by him lay on the people through their representatives. This is rightly pointed out, necessitated the attendance of a considerable number of persons of every position from morning till evening every day during the period of the Martial Law administration involving considerable inconvenience, humiliation and neglect of their ordinary business. Then they point out the orders by which the Martial Law administration discriminated between Europeans and Indians with the express object of teaching the Indian population a lesson.

"On the 15th April, he (Col. Johnson) issued what is known as the Curfew Order, prohibiting all persons other than Europeans or in possession of special military permits from leaving their houses or being in the streets between the hours 20, and 05. This was subsequently modified so as to make it applicable after 9 p.m., then 10 p.m., and ultimately on and after the 24th May, it was restricted to the hours of 12 p.m. and 2 a.m. He ordered the shops to be opened and business to be carried on, proceeded to fix in detail the prices of almost all commodities and issued orders for the prevention of adulteration of milk. He commanded from Indians their motor cars and other vehicles, electric lights and fans and notified that misuse or waste of pipe water would be deemed a contravention of Martial Law. With regard to this imprisonment of motor cars etc., of Indians it appears that it was dictated by the desire to teach the population of Lahore a lesson. Though order No. III was in general terms asking for the delivery of all motors and vehicles of all descriptions Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson had issued exemption certificates to Europeans, no such exemption being made in the case of Indian residents."

"He made it unlawful for two persons to walk abreast and prohibited all meeting and gathering of more than 10 persons. His treatment of students and the orders he passed about them and the manner in which the orders relating to the exhibition of Martial Law notices on buildings and other places will deal in detail later on. By order VIII, issued on the 16th April, Lieutenant Colonel Johnson notified, "All orders to be issued under Martial Law will be handed to such owners property as I may select and it will be the duty of such owners of property to exhibit and to keep exhibiting all such orders. The duty of protecting such orders will, therefore, devolve on the owners of property and failure to ensure the protection and continued exhibition of my orders will result in severe punishment."

He was proud of this order and called it one

of the few brain waves he had. As an illustration of how he enforced obedience of his order the Minority mention the case of the Sanatan Dham College.

"It appears that a notice was stuck on the wall of the Sanatan Dham College. It was subsequently torn by somebody. Thereupon Colonel Johnson ordered that every male person found in the precincts of the compound should be arrested. Sixty five students and all the Professors of that College were accordingly taken to the Fort which is three miles away and interned there for about 30 hours. They were then released after taking guarantees from the Principal that the defacing of notices would not happen again. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson told us that he was waiting for an opportunity of doing so."

They then mention the order for the roll-call of a thousand students four times a day, who were made to walk 15 miles in the heat of the day for many days. When examined about this, Lieutenant Colonel Johnson called the method adopted a physical exercise for able-bodied young men. It appears that in ordering the punishment of students he did not care whether the guilty were punished. What he wanted was that a certain percentage of them should be punished. This he did in order to teach them that there was penalty even for suspected sedition.

Coming to orders passed by the Military Authorities in Amritsar the Minority observe that most of the Lahore orders were repeated, with some diabolical additions. Like the Curfew order and the order of dogging in the streets in which Miss Sherwood had been attacked. Coming to order Districts to select one order from the Gujranwala District issued on the 22nd April requiring the inhabitants of Gujranwala, whenever they met any gazetted European Civil or Military Officer to show respect to him by alighting from any wheeled conveyance or animal that such inhabitants might be riding and also any vehicles that they might be carrying and to salute the said officers. A similar order was extended to Lyallpur District on the 30th April and to Gujrat District on the 2nd May. Restrictions on travelling by railway were imposed as a punishment for "decreased respect" towards Europeans. The order about roll-call of students was made applicable to the districts of Gujrat, Gujranwala and Lyallpur with the following notable addition in the Gujrat Area—

"If any boy is absent without any proper cause, his father would attend in his place. These orders were enforced even in the case of infants of 4 to 5 years. In one of these roll-calls at Wazirabad four small boys fainted from the heat and it was only then that the roll-call was abandoned. According to the evidence taken by the Congress Commissioners cases of this kind occurred in other districts also.

On the 19th May, that is, fully one month after order had been generally established throughout the Province, the following order was issued:

"Whereas two students of over 14 years of age failed to salute me on the 16th instant, thereby contravening 'Notice under Martial Law No. 7, and whereas it now transpires that they gave me their wrong names and addresses, I hereby direct that all students of over 14 years of age of the (1) Municipal Board School, Lyallpur, (2) Arya School, Lyallpur, (3) Sanatan Dham School, Lyallpur, (4) Government High School, Lyallpur shall parade in front of my office in the Punjab Library at 03-00 (eight) hours daily until the two offenders are given up, or failing this until such time as I consider necessary. They will be accompanied by a Schoolmaster from each School, and will march past a Union Jack which will be erected in front of my office, and salute to it as they pass, under the supervision of an officer appointed by me."

This order remained in force for one week. Six boys were flogged at Kasur, because they happened to be the biggest; and this was for no offence proved against them, but simply because a schoolmaster represented that his boys had gone out of his hands and it was considered necessary to punish some. The officer who was responsible for this order maintained stubbornly before the Committee that his order was reasonable.

Orders were issued for reprisals against the property of people who were represented to have left Gujranwala, Wazirabad and Hafizabad in order to avoid arrest. The property threatened included their own, their father's or their nearest relations'. The Minority have given a few instances as to how these orders were carried out.

"One Jamiat Singh Bugga who was a man of considerable position in Wazirabad and who was paying Rs. 2,000 as income-tax and had done considerable War work for which he had received official recognition attended a meeting held on the 14th in connection with the Martial Law which took place the next day, but does not appear to have taken any part in the demonstrations. It is not known whether he left Wazirabad for some legitimate business or because of the fear of being arrested. It is not known whether the orders for his arrest had already been issued at the time he left. Subsequently when the authorities went to his house and were informed by his son that he was not there, an order was passed by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien that the whole of his property be confiscated and after pronouncing this order, two men were deputed to turn out the inmates of the house and take possession of the property and several females, and children were so turned out and the property was taken possession of. After a few days, Jamiat Singh surrendered himself on the 26th, and the property was released about the 4th of May on the application of his son."

"In another case, three brothers had absconded. Not only was their property confiscated but their father was arrested and his property also confiscated. This was at the town of Sheikhupura in the district of Gujranwala.

"Another instance is that of Rala Ram who, it appears from Mr. Bosworth Smith's evidence, was arrested because his son Mangoo had absconded. It appears that with regard to people who had left their places of resi-

dence and were wanted, orders were issued prohibiting any people connected with them from cutting the crops in their fields until they returned.

In Kasur, a general order was issued on the 20th April to the following effect:— "And further also all such residents who have left Kasur on or after the 10th April 1919, will return to Kasur within four days from this date, failing, measures will be taken against their property." Captain Dwyer told us that in connection with this order, six houses were visited and opened and in some cases clothes and vessels found inside were burnt and destroyed.

Mobile columns took hostages for good behaviour of villages and Lambaras were flogged and fined, for disinclination to help and to give information. It appears that in one case mentioned in the Minority Report the officer who gave this order of flogging and fine found out after the order had been carried out, that the Lambaras concerned was innocent.

A Wazirabad Rs. 3,500 were collected from the inhabitants after the declaration of Martial Law for supplying the want of soldiers stationed there. Such were some of the orders issued by the Martial Law Administrators with the knowledge and apparent consent of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and it was for the enforcement of these orders that Martial Law was continued in spite of the Government of India.

"We are not prepared to say that all these orders were without justification but we consider that the Administration of Martial Law in regard was in some respects unduly severe and exceeded its legitimate limits, that is to say, the requirement of the military situation and the maintenance of law and order. The Minority condemn the order imposing on property-owners responsibility for the safety of Martial Law notices posted on their house. The Government of India are not prepared to say that in the circumstances this order was improper. The Minority express their strong disapproval of the confinement of the Professors and Students of the Sanatan Dharma College because certain Martial Law notices had been destroyed. The Government of India agree that this order exceeded the necessity of the case. The Minority further criticise and condemn the conduct of certain officers, notably Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith and Mr. Jacob, for various orders passed by them in the Administration of Martial Law. The Government of India agree that in the instances cited the officers mentioned acted injudiciously and in some cases improperly. While the findings of the Minority Report in regard to all these points are very cogent and in some cases fully justified, it must be remembered that officers charged with the Administration of Martial Law cannot be expected to act in abnormal conditions with that care and circumspection which is possible in normal times, nor can such a standard be rigorously applied for the subsequent examination of their actions in the calm atmosphere of safety after order has been restored."

This last remark of the Government of India loses its force when we remember that all the three officers mentioned were permanent members of the Punjab Commission and had been employed in Civil Administration for years.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's conduct during the disorders and afterwards, was fully in consonance with the spirit which had characterised his administration of the Punjab from 1913 to 1919. Considering the daily consultations and frequent conferences that were being held at the Government House, during the five days immediately preceding the declaration of Martial Law, and considering the frequent communications by telephone, telegraph and special messengers that were passing between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Chief Secretary on the one hand and the other Civil and Military officers of the Government in Lahore and outside on the other, and considering Sir Michael O'Dwyer's approval of the action of General Dyer at the Jallianwala Bagh, the Lieutenant-Governor and his Chief Secretary, are really speaking, primarily responsible for all the outrages that were committed on the people of the Punjab by the servants of the Punjab Government and the Martial Law administrators. I contend that either directly or by indirect action, they inspired all the orders that were passed by Martial Law Administrators and Martial Law Tribunals in April and May, 1919. There is only one order to which the Lieutenant-Governor appears to have taken exception, viz., the Crawling Order of General Dyer. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had the power and the opportunity to control the Martial Law Administrators and keep them within bounds, if he had desired to do so. Instead of controlling them he encouraged them to do lawless acts. I maintain that his conduct was criminal and that he was principally responsible for all that was subsequently done in the Punjab in the name of law and order. I maintain that all through these outrages his was the inspiring mind and his the guiding hand. General Dyer's action was the crowning act of a drama for which the stage had been set and actors trained, inspired and prompted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. There were daily consultations between the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Secretary and the Military authorities.

MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATION.

So far I have spoken of the orders, promulgated by the Martial Law administrators. Bad and shocking as they are they fall into shade when you come to consider the outrages that were actually committed, in the name of law and order, on the persons and property of the Punjabees in the carrying out of these orders, in the course of arrests, investigations and trials. I can give only a few samples by way of illustration.

AMRITSAR.

You have already heard of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, of the Crawling Order and the flogging in public and other places of boys and others. But there are some other things connected with the administration of Martial Law in Amritsar and other places which have not yet fortunately attracted as much notice as they deserve. Lala Girdhari Lal, Secretary of the General Flour Mills Company, Amritsar, who acted

as the General Secretary of the Amritsar Congress, has given a list of a few of these outrages in his statement made before the Congress Commissioners.

Says he:— "All the lawyers of the town were made special constables, insulted and abused, and made to witness public flogging and to carry furniture like ordinary coolies. All persons in the city were made to salaam every Englishman. Disobedience to this resulted in arrest and detention in the lock-up. Some were ordered to stand in the sun for hours in the hot season, and others made to learn salaaming by practising it for some time, etc. Handcuffing of respectable persons was the order of the day. The inhuman and barbarous order of crawling was kept up for days. Even a blind man had to do so, and was kicked for failure. The ways of police torture were numerous and brutal. Lashing after tying up the hands high, was common. Men's hands were frequently put under legs of cots, over which many persons sat. Permission was not easily granted to persons in custody to attend to calls of nature. Abusing, slapping, pulling off people's moustaches and beards were considered light punishments. Even burning coal was put on the palms of a person, making him confess to what the police wanted him to say. Nails were driven in the hands of another, and one man was forced to drink urine, and sticks were thrust into the anus of others." (Paragraph 14 of the evidence collected by the Congress Commissioners.)

Stated further, that these charges have been substantiated by the evidence of persons who suffered, and of those who witnessed their sufferings.

Rajiyaram and Abdul's have said that they were forced not only to crawl on their bodies, but while crawling were kicked by the soldiers with their boots and struck with the butt ends of their rifles. L. Kahan Chaud, a blind man, told how even he was made to crawl and was kicked. Six boys were flogged in public, one of them, Sunder Singh, "became senseless after the fourth stripe, but after some water was poured into his mouth by soldiers, he regained consciousness. Flogging was then resumed; he lost his consciousness for the second time, but the flogging never ceased till he was given 20 stripes. He was taken off the flogging post bleeding and quite unconscious. The other boys were similarly treated, and the majority of them became unconscious, while they were being flogged. They were all handcuffed and as they could not walk even a few paces, they were dragged by the police. They were then taken to the Fort."

A very revolting statement has been made by a woman, Balochan by name. The statement is No. 147 in the volume of evidence collected by the Congress Commissioners. The Secretary of State has now (after two months) ordered an enquiry into the same. I will therefore refrain from quoting it here.

It appears that 789 persons were arrested and were brought to trial. The period of detention ranged from one day to 79 days. Their treatment during detention was inhuman. Old and sick persons were handcuffed, chained and made to walk long distances in the burning sun of April and May. In one case so many as 52 were chained in one line with handcuffs on. Sometimes handcuffs were not taken off even in the lock-up.

In statements made by Amritsar witnesses, very serious charges have been made against four Police Officers of high rank, two European and two Indian, Messrs. Marshall and Plomer, Sukha Singh and Jawahar Lal. The allegations are specific and unequivocal. They are made by men of position. They have been before the Punjab Government for the last five or six months. They are either true or untrue. Yet nothing has been done. If the former, the men should have been prosecuted and punished. If untrue, those who made the statements could be dealt with under the law. One of them is at present holding a position higher than the one held during the Martial Law days, and he held during the Martial Law days, and the others are still in Government service, though I am not in a position to say whether in the same rank or in a higher rank.

Coming to Lahore, we have several notable instances of inhumanity practised during the administration of Martial Law. I will only mention one case that has already attracted some attention, namely that of Mr. Manohar Lal, Bar-at-Law, who was for some time Minto Professor at the University of Calcutta. His invalid wife and children were dragged from their rooms, forced to take shelter in the servants' quarters and the kitchen. He was kept under arrest for 28 days and then let off without a charge and without a trial. He has not till now been informed of what his offence was. He was apparently arrested and harassed and insulted and humiliated because he was one of the Trustees of the "Tribune." As to what was done to Lala Harkishan Lal and other leaders it is already known to you.

At Kasur, Baba Dhanput Rai, a Pleader, aged 65, was under arrest for 46 days and was eventually released without having been told what he had been arrested for.

On the first of May, the whole town of Kasur, excepting women and small children, was required to attend at the Railway Station for the purpose of identification and made to sit in the sun till 2 p.m., without water or food.

A boy of 11 years was charged with wagging war against the King.

Fanciful punishments were invented and administered. At Gujranwala, leaders were handcuffed in pairs and about 22 of them chained together, made to walk through the City under conditions of mockery and carried to Lahore in an open truck without food. They were not even allowed to dress.

Lala Beli Ram Kapur of Hafizabad was arrested and locked up with 23 others in a room measuring 12 by 25, the same room having to be used by all of them for natural purposes also. They were kept as under-trial prisoners up to the 6th of June.

ROLL CALL OF SCHOOL BOYS.

At Sangla Hill school boys including little children were compelled to attend roll call from day to day and made to stand in the hot sun and say "Sir, we have done nothing wrong and we will do nothing wrong in future." This was so strict that Mr. Balmukund, could not get an exemption for his nephew, 7 years old. On the 5th day on his return he was perspiring. "He fell down and began vomiting." Doctor Gian Chand of

Sangla was called but in vain. Then an Army I. M. S. who was there, was called, but he too could not help. The boy died on the 7th May. The roll call was compulsory for 4 times every day.

The authorities wanted the nephew of Nihal Chaud and he was not at the time in Sangla, the uncle was arrested. He was kept standing in the sun like many other people. "Owing to my old age," he proceeds, "and also owing to the strong sunshine I fell down senseless 3 times. I was released after 4 or 5 days without any explanation."

Dr. Karam Singh Nanda relates how he in common with others had to be in daily attendance for identification and stand in the sun without water or food. He says that many fainted and that he suffered so much from the heat of the sun from day to day that he fell ill and was invalided for two months. He says that he was identified as being in Sangla on the 12th whereas he was in Gujranwala and had to give evidence in the Court on that day. He also refers to the fact that 140 men who were arrested were detained for 9 days and were asked to pay Rs. 50,000 if they wished to be released.

OUTRAGING WOMEN'S MODESTY.

About Manianwala, Teja Singh says:— "I had not yet left for the bungalow where most of the villagers had gone by the order of the police. It was in my presence that Mr. Bosworth Smith gave a severe beating to Mr. Munshi Nawab Din and Lehna Singh. He asked him to give evidence against Bhairu Mool Singh forcing him to say that Bhairu had delivered a speech against the Government. After placing him in the custody of a constable, Mr. Bosworth Smith went towards the women. He moved their sils and used abusive language. He called them 'bitches, she-asses' and other things. He said to them 'Your skirts will be examined by the police constables. When you were sleeping with your husbands why did you allow them to get up and go.' He also spat on them."

Gurdevi, the aged widow of Mangal Jat stated before Mr. Labh Singh: "One day, during the Martial Law period Mr. Bosworth Smith gathered together all the male persons of our village, over eight years, at the bungalow which is some miles from our village, in connection with the investigations that were going on. While the men were at the bungalow he rode to our village, taking back with him all the women who met him on the way, carrying food for their men at the bungalow. Reaching the village he went round the lanes and ordered all the women to come out of their houses, himself forcing them out with sticks. He made us all stand near the village Daira. The women folded their arms before him, he beat some with sticks, spat at them and used the foulest and most unmentionable language. He hit me twice and spat in my face. He forcibly bared the faces of all the women, and brushed aside their veils with his own stick. He called them 'she-asses, bitches, fies' and 'swine' and said 'you were in the same bed with your husbands why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts will be looked into by the police constables.' He gave me a kick also and ordered us to undergo the torture of holding our ears by passing our arms under and round the legs, while being beat double." This statement is supported by several women of Manianwala.

One Lehna Singh says:— "As we left for the bungalow the Sahib addressed the women whose cries fell upon our ears, as we went along."

The statements relating to Manianwala were tested by Mr. C. F. Andrews who personally visited the village and brought independent evidence of these events.

Mawa Pind:—The vagaries of Mr. Bosworth Smith here can be judged by one sample. On the 9th of May two brothers were arrested and were convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. One of these pleaded alibi but to no effect. After his conviction his alibi was proved by the written statement of Mr. Wathe, the Principal of the Khalsa College, and the men had to be eventually released under what authority we do not know. Some witnesses who had given evidence of alibi were also sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and had to be likewise released. One Bhugwan Singh was flogged because he had the audacity to plead that he was innocent. In the course of flogging he became unconscious but Mr. Bosworth Smith did not care. The village was fined Rs. 10,000. One-third of this fine was realised during the last Rabi.

Maya Singh says that his son Ujagar Singh had gone out to fetch medicine and was arrested together with others. He protested and "thereupon Langra Sahib (Mr. Bosworth Smith) ordered him to be fastened to a tree and to be given 25 stripes."

A 60 years old respected Lambarad of 38 years' standing and a retired Inspector of Police was arrested simply because his sons were not at Shaikhupura when they were wanted. His property was confiscated and his tenants prohibited from cutting the crops.

Sardar Boota Singh, B.A., LL.B., was a member of the District War League who had in his past recruiting and had received a certificate for his services. Together with the other Pleaders he was suddenly arrested on the morning of the 19th. "All of us were put in charge of some 25 soldiers who carried loaded guns with fixed bayonets. From the Railway Station we were taken to Central Jail, Lahore, where we were handcuffed and taken to solitary cells. For 40 days we were thus detained thereby suffering the greatest possible discomfort and hardship."

At Lyallpore, Lala Chint Ram Thapar says:— "At about 11 a.m. in the scorching heat we had to walk from the Jail to the station with handcuffs and fetters on. Our ankles were wounded owing to the fetters."

The Deputy Commissioner of Gujrat was surprised when he received the order extending Martial Law to his district. He would not believe and wired to Lahore that there must be some mistake. Yet Martial Law was declared there and many respectable Pleaders including Barristers were arrested and kept in custody for a long time to be eventually acquitted. The Court found that the witnesses who had given evidence for the prosecution had perjured. Yet permission to prosecute the latter was not granted. A boy of 10 years of age was among those who were arrested and sent to Lahore on a charge of wagging war against the King. An indemnity of

Rs. 42,000 has been fixed for Gujrat and is to be collected in six instalments, one instalment having been already realised.

JALLIANWALA JATTAN.

This village suffered similar indignities and had besides an indemnity of Rs. 12,000 imposed upon it. One-sixth of this had been realised.

SRI RAM SUD.

About the firings under orders of Lala Sri Ram, Sud, the Minority have come to the conclusion, which is the only conclusion possible on his own testimony, that they were unjustified and that his action was intended to be punitive and for the purpose of creating an impression. I maintain that the Rem's action was not *bona fide* as it was done without due care and caution and that he is liable to be prosecuted and punished under the Indian Penal Code, for having caused loss of human life and having endangered the safety of so many people. The same can be said with more or less force of the firings indulged in by Sergeant Davis and Captain Flowerdew.

BOMBES.

The orders to use aeroplanes and to bomb the people from the air also emanated from Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Major Carbery dropped bombs on the Khalsa High School and on the people of two villages. The Minority have condemned it and also the dropping of bombs on the 13th April.

There cannot be any doubt that the dropping of bombs from the aeroplanes for the purpose of suppressing internal disorder was an act of unwarranted barbarity unworthy of a civilised Government.

Six lawyers of Gujraspur were arrested and detained for a long time and then released without trial. This incident has been condemned even by the Government of India.

TRIAL.

When we come to the administration of justice during Martial Law days we see the same Prussian mind working throughout, first in the selection of Judges, secondly in the framing of charges under the orders of the Local Government and, finally, in the sentences pronounced by the Courts.

It was absolutely wrong, if not illegal, to extend Martial Law Ordinances to offences committed before the introduction of Martial Law, and to any offence committed after the 30th March. This was clearly beyond the intention of the framers of the Regulation. Even the Hunter Committee have condemned the trial of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal under the Martial Law Ordinance.

As regards Summary Court powers, and in giving them practically a *carte blanche* as to procedure and punishments, we again find the Government of India first protesting against the principle laid down by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and eventually succumbing to his importunities. (P. R. 88 and 89.)

In all 2,537 persons were tried before different Courts under the Martial Law regulation, of whom 1,804 were convicted, i.e., about 72 per cent. If we compare the results with the percentage of convictions in ordinary cases, arising out of the South-Western riots of 1915 (viz. 700 out of 4,000), we will see the difference between ordinary trials and trials before the Martial Law Tribunals of 1919. The main purpose of Martial Law as stated by official witnesses before the Hunter Committee was the speedy trial of these offenders.

Under section 2 (2) Martial Law Ordinance of 1919, four Commissions were appointed, consisting of three members in each, to try all cases. It is significant that not a single Hindu or a Sikh was appointed on these Commissions. A mere glance at the judgment of these Commissions, collected together by Mr. Pearay Mohan in his book "An Imaginary Rebellion" and how it was suppressed, should show what kind of justice was administered by these judges. There are only a few of these documents, perhaps not more than half a dozen out of a total of 68, printed in this book which can lay claim to be called judgments at all. The most elaborate of them are those delivered in the cases of the Lahore, Amritsar and Gujranwala leaders. They are the best samples of the mentality of the Judges who wrote them. In the Lahore case, for example, the charge included the following allegations:

ROWLAT BILL AND AFTER.

The measure commonly known as the Rowlatt Bill was passed by the Imperial Council on 18th March 1919. Thereupon a general conspiracy was formed by persons outside the Punjab with whom the accused associated to hold tumultuous meetings and to ordain a general strike with the intention and subject of inflaming popular feeling against Government and to so overawe it as to try and induce the vetoing of the measure.

Accordingly, throughout India and the Punjab in particular, the said conspirators including the accused, declared a general strike, commonly known as *hartal*, to take place on the 30th March intending thereby to induce disorder, paralyze the economic life of the country and excite disaffection and hatred towards Government.

Such a conspiracy existed before the 30th March, but inasmuch as the Commissions are not empowered to try offences committed prior to 30th March, acts committed by them in the course of such a conspiracy are not charged against them. The charges are charged only with the acts they each committed during the period between the 30th March and 13th April, and acts prior to or subsequent to that period are being proved merely to establish a continuity of their conduct.

The primary object of this conspiracy was to secure the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, by illegal means, which is an offence under section 120-A (2); the accused before the Commission are, however, alleged to have proceeded further than this, and to have conspired either among themselves or with others within the conspiracy to:—

(a) Procure the repeal of the Rowlatt Act by criminal means.

(b) Commit a series of criminal acts such as sedition, etc.

(c) To wage war against the King.

These said conspiracies are punishable under sections 120B and 121A, Indian Penal Code.

In addition thereto the accused are alleged to have committed or abetted certain cri-

mal acts, and to have taken certain action in pursuit of the objects of such conspiracies.

Being members of a conspiracy, each accused is responsible for the acts of every other conspirator, whether before the Commission or not, committed in pursuit of the common object of the conspiracy, whether they are committed prior to or subsequent to the date on which each accused joined the conspiracy or did any act in pursuance of the common objects of the conspiracy.

It must be distinct understood, however, that the charge against each accused is not limited to particular acts committed by himself, but extends to all acts committed by other conspirators in the pursuit of the common object; and that even if it be found that the accused criminal, he is responsible for the criminal acts of others in the conspiracy and committed in pursuance of the object of each conspiracy.

There is not a scrap of evidence of any such conspiracy and the Hunter Committee has distinctly found against it, yet in all these cases its existence was presumed and many convictions were based thereupon. The same can be said of the Amritsar case.

It is stated that the case for the prosecution is that a criminal conspiracy was formed in Amritsar in conjunction with conspirators elsewhere, to overawe Government and secure the abandonment of the Rowlatt Act; that this criminal conspiracy was in existence on the 30th of March, 1919, and that these fifteen persons were then members of, or subsequently (up to the 13th April, 1919) joined it."

In the Gujranwala leaders' case, too, there was the same allegation and the same presumption.

"The case for the prosecutions that the present accused were members of a conspiracy entered into with the object of overawing Government in connection with the Rowlatt Act and had agreed to carry out their object by the Commission of the acts described above."

It was by this presumption of a conspiracy that a large number of highly respectable people, the flower of the Punjab educated community, were arrested and sentenced to death, transportation for life or long terms of imprisonment.

The idea was to get rid of every political leader, actual or potential, and have the Punjab entirely at the mercy of the bureaucracy.

A FEW MORE SAMPLES.

Here are a few more samples:— In a Kasur case, against 15 persons charged with the murder of two Europeans, and for offences against others, Colonel Irvine's Commission says:—"We have taken judicial notice and have not required evidence on the existence of a state of insurrection at Kasur on April 12th." In this case 11 persons were sentenced to death and three to transportation for life. Two of the persons sentenced to death were recommended for mercy.

In one of the Lahore cases, a person who had shouted to a Police Officer, "Tum Hamara Bhai Hamara Sath Shaid ho" (i.e., you are our brother, come and help us) was sentenced to transportation for life simply upon the proof of this shouting.

In a Gujranwala case, tried by Colonel Irvine's Commission, the case arising out of the burning of a *Petrolkhana* without loss of life, three persons were sentenced to death and others to transportation for life with forfeiture of property.

In the Hafizabad case, in which the charge related to an assault on Lieutenant Patam (who was not killed nor even injured) four persons including a student of 18 years of age were sentenced to death and 15 others to transportation for life with a recommendation for mercy in favour of two of the latter.

In the Nizamabad case, in which there was no allegation of murder, four persons were sentenced to death with forfeiture of property, eight to transportation for life with forfeiture of property and four others to various terms of imprisonment ranging from five to 10 years, and four to 20 stripes.

In the case dealing with the assault on Mrs. Sherwood, seven persons were sentenced to death with forfeiture of property and eight to transportation for life.

In the National Bank Murder case, all 20 of the accused were sentenced to death and forfeiture of property. In the Kasur supplementary case, 14 were sentenced to death and about nine to transportation for life with recommendation for mercy in favour of some, in each case forfeiture of property also forming part of the penalty.

In the case dealing with an attempt to assault Mrs. Easdon, six men were sentenced to death and forfeiture of property, and seven to transportation for life accompanied by the same additional penalty.

In the Gujranwala leaders' case in which the conviction was based principally upon the presumption of a conspiracy, two persons including one of the leading lawyers, were sentenced to death and the others to transportation for life and various terms of imprisonment.

In the Supplementary Case relating to the National Bank murder, another person was sentenced to death raising the total to 21. In the Kasur Supplementary Case, two more persons were sentenced to death and one to transportation for life with forfeiture of property in each case.

This is by no means a complete list, but this will do to give you an idea of the justice that was administered by the Martial Law Commissioners. About these sentences the Minority have made the following remarks in their Report. (Severity is rather a very mild term for these sentences.)

"It may be noticed that the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commissions were considerably reduced by Government. Out of 108 death sentences, only 23 were maintained and the remaining were commuted to transportation in some cases and in the rest to sentences of imprisonment, going down to one year. Out of 265 sentences of transportation, only two were maintained, 5 were commuted to imprisonment varying from 10 years to one year. There is a great disproportion between the original sentences and those to which they were commuted and his gives ground for the suggestion of initial severity that has been made."

A TYPICAL JUDGMENT.

Since this was written some more death sentences have been commuted (3 of

Amritsar are known to me) and possibly some remissions have been made in other cases also. For all this our best thanks are due to Sir Edward Maugham. But these commutations and remissions are by no means satisfactory. Most of those to whom the benefit of the Royal Amnesty has been extended were absolutely innocent. They were convicted in panic, upon insufficient evidence and upon presumptions of a conspiracy which never existed. Just look at the following which is taken from a Lahore Judgment:—

It is beyond doubt that the Lahore, which marched on the Civil Station of Lahore, was accused by the same motives as that of Amritsar. It was essentially part of the same insurrection and it was fully aware of what had happened in the neighbouring town, the same day. It was rapidly becoming more threatening, and had already displayed its contempt of the authority and person of the District Magistrate. A collision was inevitable and had the mob proceeded a little further up the Mall it would have found supply of deadly weapons to hand. Had it not been checked, there was, there was the gravest danger that it would have hurried on, in the confusion and chaos, to the commission of awful crimes.

In ordinary circumstances the offences actually would not have amounted to more than rioting, but this cannot be viewed as a detached and independent incident. It was plainly a part parcel of the rebellion which had already taken out.

THE JALLIANWALA MASSACRE. NEW LIES.

The Jallianwala Massacre has attracted so much attention and has been so extensively dealt with both in the press and on the platform that it was not originally my intention to refer to it at all today in my speech; but since then, I have read General Dyer's written statement, which he presented to the Army Council in England, and have also read the speeches made in the course of the debate in the Houses of Parliament. Some of the statements made by General Dyer himself and by his defenders are entirely inconsistent with the evidence which General Dyer gave before the Hunter Committee while he was obviously after-thoughts. I select the following samples from his written defence to the Army Council:—

(a) A great crowd from the city, of 30,000, had menaced the Civil Settlement on the 10th. Its audacity in the meantime had grown with its crimes and their immunity. The village had been brought in and I had to reckon upon the possibility of the eruption that night of some 30,000 Mijha Sikh looters if that whole movement were not decisively checked.

(b) I found a large meeting, afterwards ascertained to be from 15,000 to 20,000 in number, addressed by a speaker engaged in violent exhortation.

(c) There were no women and children in the meeting.

(d) I was liable to be assailed from behind and the extrication of my small force from the city would have been practically impossible if after the firing the rebels had maintained an aggressive spirit.

(e) After some firing, two groups appeared to be collecting as though to rush us and on my Brigade Major calling my attention to this, I directed fire specially to the two points in question and dispersed the groups. Now a perusal of General Dyer's statement before the Hunter Committee would show that none of these allegations were made before that body. The last statement is absolutely new and inconsistent with what General Dyer had said before the Hunter Committee, can fairly be said to be false.

The following questions and answers support this view:—

Q. No question of having your forces attacked entered into your consideration at all?

A. No. The situation was very, very serious. I had made up my mind that I would do all men to death if they were going to continue the meeting.

Q. You commenced firing the moment you had got your men in position?

A. Yes.

Q. The crowd had begun to go away when you continued firing?

A. Yes.

Q. The crowd were making an effort to go away by some of the entrances at the further end of the Bagh?

A. Yes.

Q. You put your pickets one to the right and one to the left of the entrance? Towards some places the crowd was getting thicker than other places?

A. They did.

Q. From time to time you changed your firing and directed it to places where crowds were thickest?

A. That is so.

Q. Is that so?

A. Yes.

A NEW INVENTION.

Nor is there any hint or suggestion of the fact any where in any other document issued by Government relating to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. It is not mentioned in the Punjab Government's report nor in the testimony of the Superintendent of Police at the time of the firing. It is absolutely a new invention.

As to the statement in clause (c) it is opposed to facts. It is stated in the Punjab Government's report of the disturbances that at least five children were killed, and four under fifteen years of age were killed. (See page 8.) These boys aged 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110,

The meeting was 5,000 and as to the exhortation he could not have heard it, and could have had no reason to suppose that the speaker was engaged in violent exhortation.

All that he stated before the Hunter Committee was that he saw a man in the centre. "His arms were moving about; he was evidently addressing a meeting." Asked if "there was any crying beyond that he was addressing the meeting?" He replied "No; I can not say that there was anything beyond that he was addressing the meeting."

An exhibit was placed before the Martial Law Commissioners who tried the Amritsar leaders which contained a copy of the resolution that had been passed at that meeting before General Dyer reached there and began to fire. A perusal of that document shows that the meeting had actually passed a resolution of loyalty, condemning the action of mobs on the 10th and expressing horror at the death of so many Europeans. Surely such a meeting could not except by a gross misuse of words be said to be a rebellious meeting and General Dyer has no justification for describing it as an army of rebels. New facts are being invented every day in connection with this affair. It is now said that the gathering was armed with "bludgeons," which is again a lie. No such statement was made before the Hunter Committee. The Commission has been told that the people assembled were unarmed; General Dyer himself said that some of them might have sticks.

O'DWYER'S APPROVAL

The most important fact, however, in regard to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre is its approval by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who is actually the law for the other officers for the rest of the period of the Martial Law. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had the details of this massacre before him when he approved of the action of General Dyer on the 14th of April. The following extract from the report of the *viva voce* examination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer called from the Hunter Committee's report shows the attitude of his mind.

Q. I want to ask you a few questions about the Jallianwala Bagh incident. You say on page 10, "the casualties were large and regrettable, but loss of life was inevitable when a mob which had already committed murder and rebellion assembled to defy authority?"

A. You have got my addendum to that statement.

Q. Yes. I will deal with that. The view there seems to be as if the crowd that had assembled there had committed murder and rebellion. Is there any evidence that that particular crowd had committed any murder or rebellion?

A. I do not suppose it could be said with reference to any particular crowd, but Amritsar city as a whole, had committed murder and rebellion.

Now looked at in this light, Sir Michael O'Dwyer becomes directly responsible for all the atrocities and outrages that were committed in the Punjab by various Officers, Military and Civil, after the 14th of April. His approval of General Dyer's action sealed the situation for them, and being sure of the approval and sanction of the Head of the Government, they did not think it necessary to make a proper exercise of their powers and to take into consideration the feelings of the people. One of them, Colonel O'Brien, made sure of the support of the Government by telephoning to the Chief Secretary and got a *carte blanche* from him in explicit terms. It is some satisfaction to find that General Dyer's action has been condemned by the Government of India, by the Secretary of State by the Army Council and by the leading statesmen of the British Nation. But much of that satisfaction is discounted by the fact that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have both failed to appreciate the magnitude of the offence of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. In the view which I take of the affair, I consider the latter to be the greater criminal of the two. General Dyer was a Military man, brought up in military traditions and perhaps took an exaggerated view of his duties as a Military Commander; but Sir Michael O'Dwyer was a Civilian. There was no justification for his attitude in the matter except on the plea that he was even more militarist than Dyer. To let him off with the simple remark that he "would have acted more wisely if, before expressing approval, he had taken steps to ascertain the facts and circumstances of the firing more fully," is an actual denial of justice to the afflicted people against the very man who was chiefly responsible for all their woes.

O'DWYER'S STATEMENTS IN ENGLAND.

But Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not only absolutely unrepentant, but is pursuing us with the same relentless energy and malice as he displayed during his tenure of office in India, and during the Martial Law days. In a letter which he addressed to the "London Times" from Delhi, and which was published in that paper on February 9th, he took exception to his hearing approval of General Dyer's action in shooting without "warning and in issuing the crawling order." In that letter, he makes a great fuss over the fact that he did not himself send any telegram to General Dyer approving of his action, entering into an elaborate defence, as if to show that he had no option but to approve of that action, because General Dyer's superior officer had done so. He says "it was not for me to say that he had gone too far, when I was told by his superior officer that he had approved General Dyer's action." He then states that he did not authorize General Dyer to communicate to the Government the details of the latter's action.

He then goes on to say, "I have been asked to reconstruct the Amritsar on April 13 and 14. I put it in this way, 'many urban areas in the Punjab were then in a state of open rebellion, mobs were in possession of the great cities of Lahore and Amritsar.' Now it is absolutely untrue that 'many urban areas in the Central Punjab' were then in a state of open rebellion. The chronological list of events, at the end of the Hunter Committee Report, you do not find a mention of a single urban place in the Central Punjab where anything rebellious happened on the 13th. At Amritsar nothing happened after the 10th, which could in any way justify that statement." It is equally untrue that "on the 13th and 14th rebellions

were in possession of the great cities of Lahore and Amritsar."

O'DWYER'S UNTRUTHS.

Again, he and his champions in England have recently been trying to support his action in introducing Martial Law by quoting certain statements made in the *foreword* addresses, which he practically extorted from the people of the Punjab on the eve of his departure from Lahore. In a letter to the "London Times" he says "I had the inquiry started directly after the disorders were suppressed the true facts could have been fully and easily ascertained. Lord Sydenham's letter in the 'Times' of June 9th, 1920, tells us how in the middle of May 1919, after the memory of events was still fresh, the feeling of all classes in the Punjab, as expressed in their leaders' addresses was one of intense relief at the prompt suppression of the effective methods of Martial Law of outbreaks, which threatened to involve the whole province in bloodshed and ruin and which many of them regarded as the result of an 'organised conspiracy.' It may be noted here that both Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Besant used similar language at the time. But as the memory of the horrors from which they had been saved grew faint, as the forces of agitation and intimidation came into operation, and the Policy of Government towards the promoters of rebellion showed a violence alteration the views of the weak and wavering changed. A leading Mahomedan gentleman in the Punjab in May, 1919, took a prominent part in presenting an address from the Mahomedans of the Province to the Lieutenant Governor stating that the riots and disturbances were the result of an 'organised conspiracy,' but that the situation was soon got well in hand by using the speed and effective methods of Martial Law; peaceful life is once more possible for the law-abiding citizens of our chief towns." In May, 1920, the same gentleman, now a member of the Government of India, considers (see paragraphs 21 and 26 of the Government of India Despatch) that "there being no organised or pre-conceived conspiracy to subvert the British held these disturbances, there was no open rebellion as alleged and no justification in consequence for the proclamation of Martial Law." He has also the hardihood to add that "the disturbances on and after April 14th in the districts of Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur were the result of the commotion caused by the Jallianwala Bagh affairs." His views as those of the only Indian member of the Government of India and the only one who disents from his colleagues have perhaps influenced the decision of the Home Government and make it necessary even at this late date to show what they are worth. For surely they are not typical of those of the great mass of people in the Punjab, who, in war and peace, have proved themselves true to their salt and true to their word."

Now in this extract there are the following untruths: First of all, we are told that Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Besant used similar language at the time, indicating that the disorders in the Punjab were the result of an "organised conspiracy." Neither Mr. Gandhi nor Mrs. Besant used any language which, even by a stretch of imagination, could be interpreted in that sense. About certain deeds that had taken place in Ahmedabad Mr. Gandhi did say "there were clever men behind the lawless deeds and they showed concerted action." But he never said a word about anything in the Punjab. Similarly, Sir Michael O'Dwyer has failed to quote any language of Mrs. Besant in support of his contention. Mrs. Besant's statement is quoted by the Majority in their report on page 76. There is nothing in it which supports the theory of an organised conspiracy.

Then to use the addresses in the way he has done is another illustration of his unscrupulousness. Firstly, he writes as if all the addresses made the statement about the organised conspiracy and approved of his methods in suppressing it. The address given by the Hindus said nothing of these matters and although it was practically extorted from them, it studiously kept silent on these questions. This then is an untruth.

Secondly, he must have known that the Mahomedan address as originally prepared and handed over to his Secretary contained no such statements at all, and that the alleged statements were interpolated while the address was in the custody of one of his minions. The fact could not have been unknown to him as he was a man who kept himself in close touch with every possible detail of everything relating to himself. The fact of the statement being in the address drawn on the unfortunate members, who had signed it believing that the address was as they had drafted and passed it, only when they heard the address being read, then it is too late to make any protest. This fact has been disclosed by and published under the authority of several members themselves. His reference to the inconsistency of conduct displayed in this matter by the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi, the only member of the Government of India at the time of the Hunter Committee's Report, is not only ungenerous but misleading. He tried to get a similar statement inserted in the Hindu address but failed.

His third statement about the great mass of the people of the Punjab is also untrue. The great mass of the people in the Punjab have shown what they think of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's conduct during the Martial Law regime in the numerous meetings that have been held in the Province during the last six months to protest against the horrors of those days. In every case they asked for his prosecution and impeachment.

Then look at his impertinence in talking of their being "true to salt." May we ask whose salt?

He makes a point of the delay in the enquiry. Knowing fully that the people of the Punjab were crying for an enquiry from the very first and that it was delayed by his supporters. The statements about Dr. Bashir are also false, the falsity of which has been exposed by the Doctor himself in a communication to the press. About the findings of the tribunals on which Sir Michael relies so much he knows that no evidence was given before them to prove the existence of an organised conspiracy and that all those findings are based on mere presumptions. His attacks on the Indian Members of the Committee have been adequately answered by the members themselves. They are at best a typical manifestation of his meanness. As

to the untruthfulness of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government, Mr. C. F. Andrews has in a letter published in the *Calcutta Statesman* maintained that it has been already proved by the Commission of Enquiry itself that these officials circulated news which was false and suppressed news which was true.

RECRUITING AND WAR FUNDS.

The Congress Commissioners in their Report have dwelt at some length on the methods adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his recruiting and war loan campaigns. They are relevant to our enquiry as showing the administrative methods of the late Lieutenant-Governor. I give a few extracts below:—

"The evidence that we have collected and the judicial records that we have read conclusively prove that the methods for securing recruits and donations or loans travelled far beyond the line of moral and social pressure, nor were these methods unknown to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Indeed conscription was openly talked of, suggested and advocated and we cannot help saying that open conscription would have been infinitely better than the so-called voluntarism, which was in effect worse than conscription, because the voluntarism pressed only the weakest and permitted the strong to go on as of free."

"Let us glance at the methods of Sir Michael said at a meeting on the 4th of May, 1918, just after the Delhi programme had been settled: '200,000 men for the regular army, voluntarism if possible, conscription if necessary. Colonel Popham Young, speaking at the same meeting said 'when deciding how to apportion the effort it is inevitable that many must be guided, must even be compelled.'"

At the same meeting Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself said as follows:—

"The contingency of failure of the voluntary system in certain areas is there and it would be cowardice not to face it. We have given our pledge and we must take measures in time to secure fulfilment. I believe that in the Punjab at any rate there is now strong feeling in favour of some form of conscription to raise the necessary quotas, but within the Province and as between the various Provinces, the taking, for instance, of one fit man in ten or fifteen or twenty by lot with the option of some pecuniary forfeit to be paid to the State."

"The men are wanted immediately. What therefore, appears necessary is that Government should take power to enforce the quotas allotted to provinces, and that all the necessary preparations should be made in advance on the distinct understanding that the measure will not be applied if the quotas are forthcoming on voluntary basis."

"A circular was issued by the Punjab Government making suggestions for obtaining contributions which could only be given effect to by using more than normal pressure. We give below one paragraph from the circular:—

"I am to suggest that Deputy Commissioner might assist much in the campaign by estimating the contributions that might reasonably be expected from the various towns. In doing so they will derive such assistance from the local income-tax returns, especially where the assessments have recently been revised by the special establishment. Income-tax returns furnish, too, a fairly reliable index to the relative financial condition of individuals who are expected to help the loan and a rough standard, which it is believed is already being applied in some districts. To judge of the adequacy of their investments in it, would not be unreasonable to expect that on an average an assessee would be in a position to invest in the War Loan from half to one-fourth of the income on which he is actually assessed. Applying this rough test or others, which may be found suitable to local conditions, Deputy Commissioners should be in a position to see whether towns and villages or individuals in their jurisdiction are doing what is expected of them. The Deputy Commissioners should then, by special meetings formation of local committees of Sahukars (money-lenders) and such ex-pedients endeavour to obtain the estimated sum as a minimum contribution."

Acting on this principle the subordinate officials carried on recklessly a campaign of tyranny, compulsion, extortion and what not. There is plenty of evidence in the judicial records of the Province to prove that all kinds of compulsion was used to get recruits and subscriptions and contributions to the war loan and other war funds. The Congress Commissioners have embodied some of this evidence in their Report. A perusal of the records of judicial cases relating to the compulsion and extortion resorted to for recruiting purposes, and also for collecting subscriptions and contributions to war loan fund, makes one's blood boil in indignation. Not only men but even women were insulted and treated in the most cruel fashion. I cannot quote the evidence as many of the statements will not bear being read in public. I am afraid I have no space left to show how war loans and war funds were collected from the Punjab. Those who want to know must read the Congress Commissioners' Report.

CASE FOR GOVERNMENT.

So far I have discussed the Punjab disorders mainly from the people's point of view. Now I think it is my duty to state the Government case also before you and examine its validity.

Briefly put the Government case is:—

(a) That the agitation against the Rowlatt Act to have it repealed by a criminal force amounted to a criminal conspiracy.

(b) That even if it was not criminal originally it became so with the initiation of the *Satyagraha* movement.

(c) That the whole movement was anti-British and anti-Government. In proof they cite the shouts and other marks of Hindu Mahomedan unity on the *Ram Navami* day.

(d) That although no overt acts were committed until after the firing at the Amritsar, the attitude of the mobs at Lahore and Amritsar having justified firing, the movement became one of 'open rebellion,' on the commission of murders, looting and burning at Amritsar and other places between the 11th and the 13th.

(e) That the handful of Europeans, official and non-official, in a vast hostile population, stood the chance of being annihilated, unless something drastic was done to show that they had the power to crush the 'rebellion.'

(f) That the shooting at Jallianwala Bagh produced the required effect and to get the full benefit of that drastic measure, it was necessary to supplement it by Martial Law, and to administer it intensively.

(g) That in an emergency like this, you cannot judge the conduct of the officials and the judges by ordinary standards of propriety, legality and fairness. And so on.

I am afraid I cannot admit the soundness of these arguments. The whole structure topples down if you once concede that British rule in India rests not on brute force, but on the tacit consent of the people. With that admission, the defiance of the united Indian public opinion by the Government of India in relation to the Rowlatt Act, was wholly indefensible. The content of the agitation for its repeal, supplemented by the *Satyagraha* movement, was a criminal conspiracy, is tantamount to saying that the people have no remedy and no rights against the lawlessness of their Government except by violent revolution—a very dangerous doctrine to lay down.

It has been admitted by Mr. Miles Irving that his evidence that before the 10th the mobs were neither anti-Government nor anti-British.

Q. Would it be consistent with the facts as you know them, to regard the outbreak of the 10th April as a case of protest against the deportation of Mrs. Kitchlew and Satyapal which spontaneously developed into mob violence, marked by murder and incendiarism?

A. I think that is a very good question. It spontaneously developed. It flared up in a moment. I don't think people went out with that design.

The brutalities of the mob on the 10th-May had necessitated drastic action but the action taken on the 11th, the 12th and the forenoon of the 13th had proved quite effective and no further action was needed at Amritsar. Similarly, the situation at other places was well in hand before the 15th. The mere fact that during the worst days of the so-called 'rebellion' the attacks on Europeans were so few and far between (judged by their number in the Punjab) renders the argument (e) absolutely untenable. (f) has been answered by the finding of the Hunter Committee itself that it cannot be said that General Dyer's action saved the situation in the Punjab (P 34). (g) is an extraordinary proposition. Government servants are human beings no doubt and you have to make certain allowance for racial anger and the desire for revenge, but if you lay down that, even in an emergency, Government officers can do as they did in the Punjab, you place them in the same category with mobs, in fact, even worse. Mobs did what they did under a momentary impulse, their reason blinded by passion, but the Government officers acted throughout with deliberation, design and determination in a period extending over nearly two months. Lawlessness and violence by responsible Government officers is more heinous both legally and morally than that of the mobs. It ought to be judged by a more strict standard and punished even more severely than that committed by the mobs. Shall we place Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Col. Frank Johnson and others in the same category with the leaders of mobs at Amritsar, Kasur, Lahore and Gujranwala? The explanation then is that rulers of India do not really believe that British rule India is founded on the tacit consent of the people. Rather it is based on the force of their bayonets and on the prestige of their arms. Secondly, their Intelligence Department is thoroughly inefficient and unreliable. Thirdly, the class of Indians whom they take into their confidence are mostly selfish, unscrupulous and deceitful. Fourthly, they have a distrust and suspicion of the educated classes amounting almost to hatred. Consequently they want to show in season and out of season, that the educated classes do not represent the people of India and indulge in threats which are mere bluff.

It is upon that assumption that they continue to sit on the brink of a volcano, discharging all warnings, all entreaties, all representations, until disaster overtakes them. Even then they prefer to explain the eruption by 'considerable' considerations. They curse the 'agitators' forgetting that agitators outstep the crop sown by them. They also forget that it does not pay to be an agitator on the other hand, it pays very well to be a sycophant. If still men with the brains of a Tilak, a Gokhale, a Gandhi, a Malaviya and an Arabindo Ghose prefer to be 'agitators' rather than 'loyalists,' they do so under a sense of duty which is compelling and irresistible.

Let the authorities once for all understand that the educated classes are the backbone of the country, that the masses are wholeheartedly with them and that the so-called 'loyal' Indians, upon whom the authorities rely are no more than a set of selfish sycophants, who have their own axes to grind. That these gentlemen proved no more than a broken reed during the disturbances has been admitted by Martial Law Commissioners and other Martial Law authorities. Let them disabuse their minds of the false notion that they can more effectively and peacefully rule India merely by the show of prestige or of military force. But if they really believe in military force, let them frankly avow it, so that they may be practising no deception either on themselves or on the people of India.

Militarism knows no law and no principle. It does not care for justice. It represents force, brute force and knows only one law—that of necessity. War is barbarism, militarism is applied barbarism. Judged from that standard every thing done by the Punjab Government and the Martial Law administrators was justified and needs no defence.

SIR MICHAEL CHIEF CULPRIT.

I have now done with the story of the Punjab. I have given the story at some length, because I began by formulating certain charges against Sir Michael O'Dwyer at the commencement of my address, and it was my duty to make out a *prima facie* case in support of these charges. I hope and trust that I have made out my case to your satisfaction, that of all the persons who had anything to do with the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab and with the events that preceded and followed it, Sir Michael was the chief culprit. Indeed I may venture to assert that the whole history of British Rule in India has done "such a great dis-

service to the British Empire and has brought such disgrace on the good name of the British nation as Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

The root cause of all this evil, as I have pointed out before, is the Prussian conception of Government which dominates the minds of so many of our Anglo-Indian rulers, and which places the State as something above and beyond the people. It was that conception of Government which made it possible for Lord Chelmsford's Government to pass the Rowlatt Bill into law; it was the same conception which made it possible for Sir Michael O'Dwyer to deport Mrs. Kitchlew and Satyapal and subsequently to have Martial Law declared in the Punjab. Every official who has had anything to do with this lamentable affair was filled with the same idea, namely, of making an example, 'teaching a lesson,' 'creating moral effect' and 'restoring the prestige of Government' by terrorism and frightfulness. General Dyer boasted that he had acted with that motive. Colonel O'Brien, Capt. Dorston, Lieutenant-Colonel Macrae, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, Mr. Bosworth Smith, and even some of the Judges who presided at the trial of Martial Law offenders were all inspired by the same ideal, which made many of them inhuman in their dealings with the Punjabis during the terrible days of the Martial Law. We had the sad spectacle of a Government and its high officials neglecting to take the most essential precautions for preventing unnecessary sacrifice of life and property in the carrying out of their plans. They admit that in no cases, where they resorted to firing and shooting, did they make any provision for first-aid to the wounded. In some cases they even refused to make over the bodies of the dead to their relatives. In others they took no notice of the dead. We have also evidence of the fact that troops destroyed property wholesale in the districts through which they of Deputy Commissioners exacted all kinds of contributions from the people within their respective jurisdictions; that they obtained articles of food and other necessities of life without paying for them, and in addition levied levies and fines and penalties from whole populations. We have also evidence of the fact that in giving effect to the orders of Martial Law Tribunals about the forfeiture of property inhuman cruelties were practised on the women and children of the offenders. In some cases they were thrown on the streets and were not even allowed to take sufficient clothing for the night and this was done not by subordinate officials but by high officers.

REGIME OF TERRORISM AND FRIGHTFULNESS.

I have narrated the events of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration at some length in order to show that it was all through a regime of terrorism and frightfulness in the literal sense of these words and that it was only carried to its logical conclusion in the months of April and May, 1919. In the words used by Mr. Montagu with reference to the action of General Dyer, the ideals which Sir Michael O'Dwyer had set before himself were 'terrorism, humiliation and subordination' and they reached their climax in the promulgation and administration of Martial Law. Witness after witness has appeared before the Hunter Committee and has practically boasted of his acts of cruelty and oppression. General Dyer himself is proud of everything that was done by him. He said in one case that that was one of the few brain waves he had in his life. Captain Dorston, Col. O'Brien, Major Bosworth Smith all testify in the same spirit. There was only one incident for which Col. Frank Johnson expressed his regret, and that was the flogging of the marriage party. Others were not sorry for anything and said that they would do the same thing if ever there was a chance of doing so. Here then we have the tragedy of the situation.

We believe that the principles and conduct of these men are entirely opposed to the traditions and the policy of the British Government, particularly the policy that underlies the Reform Scheme. We are afraid, however, that in the Punjab the majority of the bureaucracy are of the same mentality. The vast majority of the non-official European community is also of the same mind and so are good many of the European and American Missionaries. If such is the mentality of so many members of the Indian Civil Service, and after all, are the real rulers of the country and in whom is vested the task of administration, what is the remedy. In the face of the statements made before the Hunter Committee by European witnesses, the wholesale defence of General Dyer and others by the Anglo-Indian Press and the Anglo-Indian community, the raising of memorial funds for him and in his honour, and last but not the least, the resolution passed by the House of Lords, how can we Indians, possibly, assume that the British in England and the European community in India generally have accepted, in sincerity, the Reform Scheme and the principles that underlie it? These principles imply that if not once at least in a short time we must be free in our own country, that power to make and unmake our Governments subject only to the maintenance of the Imperial tie it being our interest and right to shorten the period of transition as much as possible. The Indian Civil Service and the European community of India and the House of Lords evidently think otherwise. They conceive it to be in their interest to prolong the period of transition by all methods open to them and many of them are frankly anxious to defeat the Reform Scheme and revert to the old system of Government. If then the struggle between these two interests is to be conducted on the lines that were in evidence in the Martial Law regime it seems to be absolutely futile to think of friendly co-operation between the two interests. It is all very well for those who are still in power to ask us to drop the matter and let by-gones be by-gones. I wish I could ask you to do the same. I am not actuated by any vindictive and revengeful motive and I fully believe that my people are not; but how can we sit silent and let the matter drop in the face of all that has happened in India and in England in connection with the events of last year until full and complete justice has been done and until steps have been taken to prevent a recurrence of the tragic state of things. The Government of India and the British Cabinet have gone out of their way to praise and laud a man whom we consider to be the chief culprit in this whole drama of oppression and tyranny. If that praise is jus-

tified, and if we acquiesce in it by our silence, then surely we deserve all that we have to suffer. If not, then, it is our duty to press for the punishment and prosecution of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

FULL AND UNQUALIFIED REDRESS NEEDED.

The Punjab tragedy was not a provincial affair, but a national one. Our manhood, our self-respect, our national dignity, nay, our very existence as a nation, depends on our having the principles and practices of Sir Michael O'Dwyer condemned, and once for all abrogated. We owe it to ourselves, to our women, to our children and also to those unborn, to fight it out and not let the matter drop without obtaining full and unqualified redress, and without obtaining effective guarantees that it will not be possible for any one, however high his position in the Government of the country, to enact such like tragedies again. It is our duty also to repudiate as emphatically as we can the fundamentally erroneous, I was going to say, vicious and Prussian conception which found frequent expression in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches, that the security of life and property is the primary duty of Government. The security of life and property is only a means to an end. What is the end? The uplifting of the human race and its progress towards the fullness of freedom, which means towards divinity. Peace is a good thing, but life is still better, says Rabindranath Tagore in one of his essays on Nationalism.

If the British rulers of India propose to give us mere security of life and property by denying us honour and liberty we must refuse to have them. There is no life without freedom and there is no freedom without "Swarajya" or Self-Government.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I believe I give expression to your sentiments when I say to our rulers, that although the British Government is mighty enough to crush all our efforts by their military power, any success they achieved by military efforts would be a very expensive one. The British Raj is no longer synonymous with justice and fair-play in the mind of the average citizen and the more it is dragged into the mire by men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the more it will lose. It has hitherto constituted its boast.

DETERMINED TO FIGHT A CLEAN FIGHT.

We, on our part, are determined not to let our morale go under, to fight only a clean fight. We shall continue to condemn unflinchingly and unequivocally all those who commit violence, or insult or humiliate women, irrespective of their nationality, or who commit such acts of inhumanity as characterised the Dyers, Dorstons, Johnsons, O'Briens and others of the Punjab tragedy. If all this fails to bring us the necessary relief, I for one hope and believe that it will not, well, then the future is in the lap of our gods. I want in your name and in the name of the country which we have the honour to represent to tell Mr. Montagu and through him the British Cabinet, that we accept in full the principles that he has laid down in the speech which he made in the course of the Dyer Debate in the House of Commons. For our part we are fully prepared to act on those principles, and to cherish the connection with the British Commonwealth as a desirable privilege; but we shall be deceiving ourselves as well as Mr. Montagu if we do not tell him also that in the light of the events that happened in the Punjab last year, the people of this country require something more than speeches and resolutions and despatches to prove that the British Cabinet and the British people are equally sincere and equally earnest for the principles laid down by Mr. Montagu. Here let me make one thing clear. If partnership in the Commonwealth means full freedom to go in India, with responsibility for the burden of the Commonwealth to the extent of our interest in it, we accept that ideal of partnership but if partnership in the Empire means and includes the permanence of racial or alien domination in any shape, form or degree in the Government of India, then we do not accept that ideal. We are determined at no distant date to be entirely free in our country, in the same sense as South Africans are free in South Africa, Canadians in Canada, Australians in Australia and the British at home. Any qualification of that ideal we will not admit. All those Europeans who are domiciled in this country are our countrymen, and it shall be our duty to respect their rights in the same way as we shall respect the rights of any other community in India. But beyond this we are not prepared to go. Further we are also determined not to let ourselves be used as willing tools to crush the liberties of the rest of the world. We of the Indian National Congress have declared that we are quite fit for complete autonomy even now, yet we did accept, however inadequate and unsatisfactory, the instalment given to us, as evidence of the bona fides of the British statesmen. We were prepared to work out the Reform Scheme to the best of our ability as a stepping stone to full responsible Government but we must frankly tell Mr. Montagu that the events of the Punjab have shaken our faith in the motives of those who seek our operation in the ostensible working out of the Reform Scheme.

WHAT WE WANT.

I will conclude this part of my address by stating in brief what we want. (a) We want complete and unequivocal repudiation and condemnation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and if possible his prosecution and punishment. We also want that an open enquiry be held into the methods adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the recruiting campaign and in raising war loans and war funds. (b) We want equal condemnation and punishment as well as of all those Indians who lured them in enacting the outrages of the last year. (c) The compulsory retirement of men like Bosworth Smith does not satisfy us. (d) We want the release of the remaining Martial Law prisoners and all the men that are still 'rotting in jails under convictions of the Special Tribunals and the Martial Law Courts.' We shall be quite ready to have such of them retired by ordinary courts as were accused of murders or other charges of that nature; but we refuse to accept the judgments of the Special and the Martial Law Courts as good judicial pronouncements. (e) We insist that all the loss incurred by the people of the Punjab by the vagaries of the troops and the officials in the course of the Martial Law administration be made good and that all pun-

live fines and penalties imposed and recovered and returned. (e) We demand that all the disqualifications that are involved in the conviction of men by the Martial Law Tribunals be set aside, either by law or by a general order of the Government. (f) We further require that an open enquiry be held into the charges of bribery, corruption, extortion and torture that have been made by the witnesses before the Congress Commissioners against Police Officers of whatever rank, and other officials. (g) We also insist that if the authors of the Reform Scheme want a fair trial for it, they must remove from the Punjab all such officers as were connected with the outrages, as a proof of their bona fides. (h) If there be any others in the Punjab or elsewhere who do not accept the principles of the Reform Scheme they also must go, even if they have to be retired on suitable pensions. They should not be there to defeat the Reform Scheme by the exercise of powers that are still left to them to a very great extent by the Reform Scheme itself. The Department of Law and the control of the Police is entirely in their hands and unless the removal of these Departments they cannot effectively prevent the higher officials from exercising these powers high-handedly and arbitrarily as they did in the Punjab and as, to our knowledge and regret, they are doing even now in some places. (i) The Government of India too must shoulder their share of the responsibility for the Punjab tragedy. Their decision on the Hunter Committee's Report was a foregone conclusion. All the credit which they were entitled to for their efforts to strengthen the period of Martial Law has been discounted by their present justification of its continuance. If the view which the British Cabinet has taken of General Dyer's action and of the excesses of the Martial Law administration is correct (and it is much below the reality), then I submit the least that Lord Chelmsford can do with honour to himself is to resign his office on account of the verdict of the Hunter Committee. I submit there is enough in the Hunter Committee's Report (of both the Majority and the Minority) which should induce Lord Chelmsford to take the same honourable course. The Viceroy and his Cabinet have been guilty of gross dereliction of duty in failing to check the vagaries of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and in failing to exercise that power of control which law and tradition vested in them. They let the people of the Punjab sink and suffer under the impression that there was no one to hear their cries.

Under the circumstances the country's demand for the recall of the Viceroy seems to be just and proper.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR.

Speaking of the Government of India, I must not omit to make mention of the noble stand made by our distinguished countryman, Sir Sankaran Nair, against the policy of the Government relating to the Punjab. His forcible protest, ending in his resignation from his high office, are worthy of the best traditions of Indian patriotism and will be remembered as long as India is articulate. His bold, blunt and burning love of justice and fair play, his high sense of duty, and absolute disregard of personal losses are such as to make every Indian proud of him.

THE KHILAFAT.

Ladies and Gentlemen, before I close this account of the wrongs inflicted on the Punjab, I must tell you that the narrative is by no means exhaustive. For want of time and space I have omitted many facts and incidents as telling as those related, and I believe there are many more which have not yet been brought to light. The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee have resolved to undertake the work of investigation from the point where it was left by the Congress Commissioners, so as to complete the record, as far as practicable. Nor must I pass to the next subject without recording the bright side of this gruesome tale. It is true that Sir Michael O'Dwyer did succeed in terrorising and overawing the Punjab for a while, but as soon as the first shock was over, the people recovered almost instantaneously. Those who were arrested and prosecuted, behaved most heroically, those whom they had left behind in clanking little children and women, bore their misfortunes nobly.

RATAN DEVI

To the "eternal glory of Indian womanhood," Ratan Devi defied the Curfew or curfew of General Dyer, and watched all night by the corpse of her dead husband in the Jallianwala Bagh. The boys who were accused of waging war against His Majesty the King, never showed the slightest anxiety about their lives.

LALA HARKISHEN LAL.

Of the victims of official aggression there is one man whose name I must mention, who by his cool and calm behaviour, his bold and defiant attitude, his manly notions of self-respect and honour, his stoic indifference to consequences, set an example for others and earned the ever-lasting respect of his countrymen. I refer, of course, to Lala Harkishen Lal. Having passed through the fire of Martial Law, the Punjab is to-day purer, stronger, more advanced, more determined, more patriotic and very much more united. The so-called backward Muslim masses are vying with their Hindu countrymen in showing a united political front, and the Sikhs (young and old) are outdoing themselves. No words can describe their enthusiasm for political regeneration and their readiness to suffer and sacrifice.

INDIA UNITY.

If Martial Law has produced such good results in the Punjab itself, it has done still greater wonders in the cause of Indian unity. The political consciousness of the people of India has advanced by at least ten years. I believe I am giving expression to your sentiments, Ladies and Gentlemen, when I say that the country owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the most revered Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, and Messrs C. R. Das, Jayakar and Tyabji. Our immortal Rabindranath Tagore's letter to the Viceroy will ever remain the charter of national self-respect and dignity, for the future generations of India. As a Punjabi

I must offer my gratitude to all who have espoused the cause of my Province in her hour of affliction. As an Indian I am proud of the stand made by the country. Surely, it is a new day and a most cheering day to find that in this matter the Hon. Mian Mahomed Shafi should be on the same side, as the most uncompromising Indian radical politician, be he of Bengal or of Maharashtra. The one Englishman, whose name I must mention with gratitude is Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is now one of us. Nor can we withhold our praise from the Indian members of the Hunter Committee, for their independence of character and for the statesmanlike view they have taken of the affairs in the Punjab. The country's best thanks are due to them for their lucid and masterly report.

KHALIFAT QUESTION.

They say that every cloud has its silver lining. To me it looks as if the Punjab tragedy has a golden hue, with the memory of the Amritsar martyrs, with the pictures of Ratan Devi, Madan Mohan and Khushi Ram engraved on our hearts, with the recollection of the dying Muslim urchin, who invoked the "Hind Musliman ki Jai" with his last breath with the example of the sufferers of the Martial Law, we will march on to our goal of national unity and national freedom, with hope and confidence.

The second question that has been referred to the Special Session of the Congress, for consideration and decision is the question of the "Khilafat." Seventy millions of our Muslim countrymen are stirred over it. The question has two aspects: the religious and the political. We of the Indian National Congress have no jurisdiction to go into the merits of the Khilafat question from the religious point of view. In the words of Mr. Leland Buxton "It does not in the least matter what Professor this or Doctor that thinks, the Muslims ought to believe. What does matter is, that the vast majority of Sunni Muslims do believe that the Sultan of Turkey is their Khalifa and the interests of Islam require him to be the head of a large, powerful and independent State." The Mahomedan Law-books define the boundaries of such a State.

There is perfect unanimity among the Mahomedans of India on the religious merits of the question. I do not believe there could be more than one person in a million among the Sunni Mahomedans of India who entertain any doubts in the matter. We may then take it for granted that the interpretation put upon this matter by the Central Khilafat Committee is correct. It was a matter for our Mahomedan countrymen to decide and they have decided it. They contend that the Turkish Peace Treaty violates the fundamentals of Islam, prevents them from fulfilling their religious obligations, makes it impossible for them to maintain friendly relations with a nation which is the cause of it.

They also maintain that the Turkish Settlement has violated the solemn pledges given to the people of India by British statesmen during the War.

In the first place, after the declaration of the War between England and Turkey in 1914, the Government of India on behalf of His Majesty's Government as also the Government of France and Russia promptly issued a Proclamation assuring "His Majesty's most loyal Muslim subjects" that "no question of a religious character was involved" in the war "and disclaiming any British designs against the Holy Places of Islam." Again in January 1918 speaking in the name of the whole Empire the British Prime Minister made the following unambiguous and remarkable pronouncement:-

"Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor which are predominantly Turkish in race." Finally, came the armistice with Turkey, and it is important to recall that it was signed on the basis of President Wilson's Twelfth point, (one of his famous 14 points set forth in his message to the Congress dated the 8th January, 1918), which is as follows:-

"That the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of secure sovereignty. But the other Nationalities now under Turkish rule be assured security of life and autonomous development."

Now, ask the Muslims, have these promises and pledges been redeemed? It is the bare truth to say that in the treaty presented to the Turkish Plenipotentiaries on May 11th last, and since signed by the Turkish Government, every single principle contained in the declarations I have cited above, has been palpably violated. Non-interference with the Muslim religious practices and obligations, non-molestation of Islamic Holy Places and respect for Turkish territorial and National integrity have all been thrown overboard. This is the Muslim connection and the whole of India has accepted it as true.

So much then for the Mahomedan point of view.

But there are in my judgment other issues also involved in the Turkish Peace Treaty which deserve consideration. I maintain that any further extension of the British Empire in Asia is detrimental to the interests of India and fatal to the liberties of the human race. The British have frequently used Indian troops to conquer various parts of Asia and Africa. For a long time there was an unwritten law which every European Chancery considered binding on itself, that non-European troops were not to be used in any European War. This was abolished in the last war. African troops and Indian troops were used during and after the war by the Allies in Europe. Black troops were in occupation of Germany and possibly they may be still there. Gurkhas were, for some time, stationed in Ireland. I do not, of course, resent the abolition of the invidious social bar. From that point of view, I may even welcome it, but surely it widens the scope of militarism. British suzerainty in Arabia and British occupation of Mesopotamia involves the practical absorption of Persia and Central Asia, and perhaps later on Afghanistan as well, into the British Empire. What has happened in India will happen in these countries too, i.e., the general population will be disarmed and a number of them enrolled and drilled in the army. With the memory of the Dyer Debates fresh in our minds, let my countrymen imagine the effect of that procedure on their own liberties as well as those of

the rest of the world. The prospect of having Arabian, Persian and Afghan regiments in India cannot be pleasant to those of us who are working for the freedom of this country. It may be said that the contingency is very remote and perhaps fanciful. I am afraid I cannot agree in that view. What is remote to-day becomes near to-morrow. If the British Imperialist has no scruples in using Italian troops in Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Central Asia, why will he have any in using the troops he raises in these countries against us? The Hindu-Muslim problem will become ten times more trouble some and dangerous, if this turns out to be true.

Then there is another aspect of the question. If the Muslim population of these countries continue to resist British attempts at occupation which they are likely to do for years, the Indian Army will be in constant requisition to fight their battles in those regions, which means a constant and never-ending drain on our resources, both human and economic. The best interests of India, therefore, require that the Muslim countries in Western Asia should remain free and independent. Their amalgamation in the British Empire even under the pretence of mandatory jurisdiction, is likely to be extremely harmful to us. We know what these mandates really mean. The British have to maintain 80,000 troops in Mesopotamia and the French the same number in Syria. They have spent money like water on these territories even after the war. This is not being done for the benefit of these backward countries. Several wars are going on at this minute in what were Turkish territories before.

It may be contended that this view ignores the League of Nations and the United States. Well, gentlemen, there is no such thing as the League of Nations. Great Britain and France are the League. As for the United States, they are averse to any entanglements in foreign politics. They will not raise their little finger to save the liberties of the world unless there are in danger.

But it may also be said that this view ignores the possibility of Labour coming into power in Great Britain. Well, so long as Labour does not actually come into power it will be foolish for us to count upon the contingency in deciding what attitude we shall take on current problems, which brook no delay. Militarism have obtained a fresh lease of life. For the present it seems that Junkerism is in Great Britain. For evidence one has to read carefully the speeches made in the course of the Dyer Debate in both the Houses of Parliament. These speeches would not have been delivered in 1917 and 1918.

The question then resolves itself into the following:-

(a) Are we voluntarily and of our free will going to acquiesce in British Junkerism crushing Muslim liberties in Western Asia, and trample upon Indian religious susceptibilities without joining our protest?

(b) Are we to sit silent and let the British Junkers ride rough shod over the pledges under which they obtained our country's help in the war against Turkey?

(c) Are we going to lose this opportunity of cementing the Hindu-Muslim bond for the common purpose of Indian liberties in India, and Muslim liberties in Muslim countries?

We, of the Indian National Congress, have always been the bulwark of Indian liberties. We cannot be built as a secure exception in the foundation of a close understanding between the two communities. British bureaucrats have from time to time been deliberately playing the one against the other, and for a time they succeeded. Now is the time for us to convince our Muslim brothers that we were and are sincere in our desire for Muslim freedom. The bureaucrats may now want to play the Hindus against the Muslims. In fact they are already at the game. It was the spectacle of Hindu-Muslim unity at Amritsar that drew him mad. The Hindu-Muslim unity was decided to be anti-British for no person whatsoever except that of Anglo-Indian bureaucrats, it was an unpleasant spectacle. It was not anti-Indian when they freely used the Muslims to denounce the Hindus, but it became anti-British, the moment Muslims began to fraternise with the Hindus. Such is the mentality of so many of the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats.

I do not believe there are any Indian Muslims who want Muslim sovereignty in India, but if there be any such we should not let it be afraid of them. If it came to it, we know how to defend our liberties with or without British aid. How long are we going to be afraid of shadows and be deceived by the gins and traps set before us as a justification of despotic rule? But all this on the assumption that there is going to be a fight. I for one do not believe that there is any likelihood of that. The Muslims of India do not want to turn against the British; even if they wanted it they could not do so. What they need and ask for is our moral and constitutional support in the present crisis regarding the Khilafat, and we should have no hesitation in giving it to them unreservedly.

I think it is a perfectly legitimate and constitutional demand that the Indian troops should no more be used anywhere outside India. They were taken out to defend the Empire when the Empire was in danger. The War which threatened the whole Empire is over and the troops sent by the Dominion have returned to their homes. So should ours. The Indian army exists to defend the Indian Empire and not for an aggressive Imperial policy of extension and expansion. As to how far the Hindus should go with their Muslim countrymen in the latter's campaign of non-co-operation is a question which it is for us to discuss and decide. All that I can say at this stage is that we should go as far as we can, consistently with our duty to the country, even if we have to suffer. The Hindu-Muslim unity broke down the dawn of a new day in the history of India and it will be extremely foolish and shortsighted to throw this chance which only comes once perhaps in a country on the bidding of those who worship at the shrine of Dyerism.

The Hindu-Muslim financial union has already brightened the horizon and outlook of many an Indian who had taken to dis-

pair. It has cheered many a dying patriot at Amritsar and other places.

Mr. Maqbul Mohamed of Amritsar has in his evidence before the Congress Commissioners related two touching incidents which are worth mentioning here. Speaking of the pathetic scenes he witnessed after the firing on the carriage bridge at Amritsar, on the 10th of April, he says:-

"I witnessed many pathetic scenes and some gruesome sights. I saw a corpse actually with an eye-ball and the whole brain blown out. I heard a dying man gasping 'Hindu Mussalman ki Jai'. A boy of 16 or 17 years of age lay wounded with his entrails protruding, having been hit on the belly. When Dr. Dhanpat Rai, Salaria and I approached him, he whispered: 'I am dying, attend to my brethren. Hindu Mussalman ki Jai.' The next moment he died. Man similar instances of notable sacrifice I noticed when I was pouring water into the mouths of the dying."

IMPERIALISM.

One word more and I will have finished this part of my address. It has been pointed out to me by well meaning friends that in supporting the Muslim claim for the maintenance of the Turkish Empire, I am advocating Imperialism to which I am otherwise so bitterly opposed. Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not desire the destruction of the Turkish Empire for the benefit of others. In my judgment, Imperialism should be eliminated from the affairs of men and federation of sisterly states should take its place, but so long as there are Empires, it is not in the interests of humanity that some of them should be dissolved for the enlargement and glorification of others. In the present state of world politics, the liberty of such states as are now being created by the dissolution of the Turkish Empire is not worth even a day's purchase. Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia are being absorbed in the British and French Empires. Arabia and Kurdistan and Armenia cannot but be vassal States. Turkey itself, under the Treaty, is hardly in a better position than the Nizam of Hyderabad. In an unguarded moment Lloyd George has said "We have got Constantinople. We have got Mesopotamia. We have got Palestine." The Allies would have been perfectly justified in insisting on establishing autonomous Governments in all the component parts of the Turkish Empire, with a view to federation joining them all for purposes of defence. But as the matter at present stands Muslim independence is entirely gone. What Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria, Kurdistan and Anatolia are getting is a shadow and not the substance.

It is impossible to believe that the British and the French quarrels over the oil of Mosul are all disinterested and in the interests of the Muslim world. France, Italy and Great Britain have just made Treaty dealing their economic interests in these territories, without consulting Turkey.

SULTAN, A PAUPER.

In my judgment the position of the Sultan in Anatolia and Constantinople is worse than that of Germans in Germany and of the Austrians in Austria. It cannot be said that the Treaty secures them the sovereignty of Thrace or of the Turkish parts of the Empire or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor. In an article in the *Servant of India* dated 19th August 1920, our friend Mr. C. F. Andrews has explained the meaning of that sentence. He quotes chapter and verse for the following opinion:-

Furthermore, we have now the fact brought to light, that every other Allied power appears to regard the British as paramount in Constantinople, just as the French are now regarded as paramount in Aleppo and Damascus and the Greeks as paramount in Smyrna and Adrianople. All the military defences of Constantinople are in the hands of the British. The Sultan himself, his Vizier, and his Cabinet sign decrees and ordinances by British orders. Rebellious officials have been effectively dealt with. Financial control has been taken from the Turkish Government; and the Sultan has been made, not only a prisoner in his own palace, to all intents and purposes, but also practically a pauper and a mendicant, dependent on the hated foreigner for every penny of his income. It is this situation, which has made Europe regard the British military occupation as complete and lasting.

REFORM RULES AND REGULATIONS.

It is not my intention to detain you long over the Reform Rules and Regulations. The Parliament has finally passed them and they have already been put into operation. My attitude towards the Reform Scheme may be summed up in one sentence. It was one of partial elation in 1918, it sank into one of depression in 1919, it changed almost into one of despair in 1920. From the frankness that characterised the statements made in the Joint Report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, I concluded that they meant exactly what they had said. But soon after, the resolution relating to the Arms Act and the Local Self-Government and the action of the Government in the matter of admitting Indians into the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army, disillusioned me. Then came the Reform Act, with its reservations and limitations. The way in which the Secretary of State has been encumbering Indian finances and sanctioning increase after increase in the salaries and allowances of the Civil and Military service, the rules that have been made for the selection of such Indians into the service as are to be nominated in India, the latest development of policy in regard to Curfew, Exchange, and Reversion Bills, and last but not the least the tenderness shown in dealing with the culprits in the Punjab tragedy have shattered all my hopes. The Reform Scheme as originally formulated, carried in its bosom the germs of disease. These germs have so fearfully developed since then that Colonel Wedgwood was perfectly justified in arguing that "the people of India think and rightly think, that the rules and regulations and the decisions of the Joint Committee have not been the recommendations of the Hunter Committee, but have been the recommendations of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State." Now

I must say that in one or two respects the reform has made an improvement on the original scheme, but on the whole it has disappointed the hopes that were raised by the latter. Nor is this matter for wonder. The Rules and Regulations have been framed by the bureaucracy and represent their mind. The people of India have had very little to say in the drafting of them, and what little they said has gone unheeded. The restrictions imposed on the selection of candidates, the refusal to enfranchise the wage-earning classes and women, the constitution of the territorial constituencies and the almost autocratic powers given to the Governors, have considerably reduced the value of the Reforms, even such as they were. The distinction between dismissed Government servants and dismissed or suspended lawyers and between rural and urban constituencies is on the face of it absurd. The tenderness shown towards European commercial interests is significant and even more significant is the anxiety to keep out of the Councils the leading victims of Martial Law. In the Punjab, Indian Trade and Commerce remains unrepresented and also the Depressed Classes and the wage-earners. The Rules of Procedure are as reactionary as the ingenuity of the bureaucracy could make them. In fact, all round, so far as the Rules and Regulations are concerned, the bureaucracy have won and the Indian people have lost. My friend, Mr. V. J. Patel has returned to India perhaps sad and wiser for his trouble. He will, I am sure, throw much more light on the subject than I can. It has been found that blood is thicker than water. It has happened in his case as it did in the case of the Morley-Minto reforms and it will continue to be like that, until the people of India make up their minds that what they want is the whole loaf and not merely half of it. I would have no objection to take even the half, provided I was sure that the half offered was not selected by the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is so adept in the art of mixing and cooking that the half which they propose to retain, contains all the nourishment of the whole leaving the other half worse than chaff. They manage it so skillfully that in the process of doubt they mix many a germ of disease in the half which they propose to let you have. It will be a marvel of good fortune, if with all the distinctions of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, or urban and rural, of Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, of residents and non-residents, of British subjects and those of Native States, of military and civil, made in the Rules and Regulations, we are still able to evolve a national spirit which will rise above difference and consolidate us into one people, with a will to live and prosper as a free nation.

NON-COOPERATION.

At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, which sanctioned the convening of this Special Session, it was proposed by Mr. Gandhi that, as a protest against the Turkish Peace Treaty and the decision of the Government in regard to the Punjab affairs, that Committee should recommend a programme of Non-co-operation to the country. Mr. Gandhi's programme of Non-co-operation includes the boycott of the Reformed Councils. The All-India Congress Committee considered that it was not within its competence to accept this proposition. It was opposed to the Resolution of the Amritsar Congress relating to the Reform Scheme. It did not, as the same time, think it right to dispose of the matter without giving the country, as a whole, an opportunity of pronouncing on it. So it has referred the whole matter to this Special Session.

The question has since then been widely discussed in the country, on the platform and in the press. The Central Khilafat Committee under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi have already started the campaign of Non-co-operation. Some Provincial Congress Committees have, by a majority of votes, accepted the principle of Non-co-operation, but have recommended no action, pending the decision of this assembly. The question is very much agitating the public mind and has divided the country into two opposing camps. On both sides are ranged revered and respected leaders. Much feeling has been imported into the discussion. Under the circumstances, I have decided that, as President of this assembly, the proper course for me this stage is to refrain from expressing any opinion on this subject.

PAST PRACTICE.

I am aware that in the past Presidents have generally discussed all important political questions of the day in their presidential addresses, but then until very recently the country was practically unanimous on all questions which the Congress was expected to deal with.

On the other hand, I believe there is an unwritten tradition that the Congress President, as the spokesman of the country, is expected to deal only with questions on which the country is unanimous or almost unanimous. There is a great deal of wisdom in that tradition. If the Congress is to maintain its character as a National Assembly, those who are selected for the office of President must not be partisans in ordinary sense of the term. Whatever personal opinions, the President cannot speaking for, and in the name of the country, if he makes a pronouncement on the country is not unanimous. If he does not happen to coincide with the Majority, both he and the Congress will find the situation rather awkward. President should not try to exercise a decision of the Congress on a question which the country is so sharply divided on. It is on the question before us, therefore, think that the President of the country and the tradition of the office to which you have elected me, should say nothing on the question. In deciding on adopting a course which will enable you hereafter to face the National character of this which will also have the advantage of not narrowing the field from your future Presidents. In a political life, when our country may be expected to have problems on which the differences of opinion among the most respected of the country can not afford to select a course from amongst men who have been actively interested in the past

his country, can possibly remain neutral on any important questions on the merest chance of being called upon to preside over a session of the Congress. Nor would such an officer be worthy of this high office. The Congress Presidents must continue to be selected, as far as possible, from among men who have been in the forefront of the political life of the country. It should not be difficult for many among them, to be absolutely impartial when presiding over discussions of controversial subjects, in spite of their having their own personal opinions one way or the other.

PRESIDENT, MOUTHPIECE OF THE COUNTRY.

In my humble judgment, the President of the Indian National Congress is the mouthpiece of the country only on questions on which the country is unanimously or practically unanimous. Acting on this principle, the moment I decided to accept the honour to which I was called by the vote of the All-India Congress Committee, I made up my mind to follow this course. Since then I have devoted much thought to it, but I have not seen any reason to change my opinion. I hope and trust that my decision will meet with your approval. I have my personal opinion on the questions involved in the programme of non-co-operation but during the session of the Congress I will conduct the proceedings without taking sides.

CO-OPERATION EXAMINED.

This, however, does not prevent me from making some general observations on the subject. Before we consider Non-co-operation, let us first examine Co-operation. Co-operation of the people with the Government is based on one of the two assumptions, either that the Government represents them, or that the Government is there to protect their interests. Now in India the first of these two assumptions can not hold good. The second is unhappy in the course of being shattered to pieces, if not already gone. Co-operation with Government, again, is of two kinds; one enforceable by law and therefore compulsory, for example the payment of taxes, or serving the army under conscription; the other is voluntary, for example accepting Government service or joining the Councils and so on. In the case of the former, every refusal is punishable. As for the latter, there again you have to distinguish between co-operation which is obviously for country's benefit and that which is not so. Co-operation determined solely or mainly by economic considerations can only be refused, if we can find economic alternatives. Co-operation inspired by consideration of honour and dignity can be easily refused if the mentality of the people regarding honour and dignity can be changed. Last, but not the least, in the same class you may consider co-operation, which gives you opportunities of serving your country by attacking the citadels of power and privilege from the inside.

Co-operation or refusal of it, then, must be judged by (a) its obligatory or voluntary nature (b) by its economic consequences (c) by its inherent morality and (d) by its utility as a weapon of attack or defence.

Co-operation which is immoral or which makes you a tool of a foreign bureaucracy or which leaves you no option but to give effect to their orders, stands on an entirely different footing from one which is obviously for the benefit of the country. Similarly co-operation, which is inspired by economic necessity stands on a different footing from the one which is solely or mainly based on considerations of honour and dignity. Then again you must consider if your refusal of co-operation proceeds from the desire to make an immediate effective impression on the Government or from the motive of habituating the people to take their destiny in their own hands.

These, then, are the issues involved in the great question of Non-co-operation.

INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

With your permission, I may also sound a general note of warning. We are passing through critical times. The minds of men are in ferment not only in this country of ours, but all over the world. Ideals, ideas, principles, convictions, sentiments, opinions, beliefs, creeds and all things, for which men have so far lived and fought are in the melting pot. Democracy is in the air but not that democracy which has brought the old world near its end in one great war. We are promised a new kind of democracy which would make no distinctions of colour, creed, caste, civilisation or culture. It would recognise no barrier between men and men which are the outcome of artificial distinctions. It aims to raise the masses of the people to the level of the few. It is our duty to be on our guard against these new promises.

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considerations of personal or class interests.

THE MASSES.

The general public, including the masses, are in no mood to be trifled with, either by the Government or by themselves. They have waited sufficiently long, and they want immediate relief from economic want and from political bondage. They may not understand complicated questions of Finance, Criticism, Military Organisation, or the like. They may not be able to express opinions on abstract theories of State, but they do know that the country at present, is not being governed in their interests. They are quite aware of the supercilious claims that are being put forward by British statesmen of all kinds from the O'Dwyers, Sydenhams and Sumners of the Tory school to the Mestons, MacDonells and Montagus of the democratic wing, that the British can and do look after the interests of the masses of this country even better than their educated countrymen. They know that when the question arises whether or should be given to "the man on the soil," the man behind the plough, and the man whose life is a question between a crop and a crop, it is the British statesman who should be between them and the right. They know also that when the question arises of how best to spend the revenue raised from them, the people whose interests get precedence over theirs, are the British Civilian, the British Army man, the British manufacturer, the British banker, and the British "radie" who have seen through the newspapers few lavishly and generously the British Secretary of State has been solicitous of conciliating the British and the allied highly paid Indian servants of the Crown by giving them large increments in the princely salaries which they were already enjoying. While the British Government readily recognises that the man drawing from Rs. 500 to Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 4,000 a month is hard hit by the increase in cost of living, they shut their eyes to the fact that the said increase has cut the very ground from under the feet of the ordinary wage earner, the small agriculturist and the low-paid clerk. Last, but not the least, they have seen that, however tyrannical and oppressive the conduct of a British or Indian officer may be, the greatest punishment that can be meted out to him is to be compulsarily retired on a pension, a punishment, which really falls on the tax-payer.

PENSIONS TO DYERS AND SMITHS.

Just imagine, Ladies and Gentlemen, the iniquity of the fact that the Indian tax payer whose women were insulted, whose crops were ruined, whose sons were flogged, who in his own person, or in that of his relatives or countrymen was humiliated, imprisoned and trodden under foot, is being made pay for the comfortable living in Great Britain of a Michael O'Dwyer and a Bosworth Smith. The other day, when I mentioned Bosworth Smith to a senior Punjab Civilian, he said "that fellow was mad," yet this same mad man not only ruled districts as big in size as Persia or Wales for a number of years, but still be a burden on Indian revenue.

Believe me, Ladies and Gentlemen, the masses of this country are feeling the hardships of the present system of administration even more keenly than the educated Indian. I do not wish to be an alarmist but let me tell you quite frankly that if the Government and the more comfortably placed among ourselves do not desire a revolution, they have to do something tangible, material and substantial, to remove these impressions and do it quick. The persecution of a few educated leaders will only make the situation worse. Educated leaders, on the whole exercise a restraining influence. Remove that influence as was done by deporting Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal and the consequences will be disastrous.

APPOINTMENT OF LORD SINHA MESSRS SARMA AND SAPRU.

The recent appointments of Lord Sinha and of Mr. Sarma and Dr. Sapru, are excellent to themselves. I may even congratulate these gentlemen on their good luck and the Government on their wisdom but as remedies for the existing discontent they are hopelessly inadequate. A few years before, they might have thrilled our imagination, but coming after the Punjab tragedy, they have naturally fallen flat. What people want are not appointments but the power to make them. As nominees of Mr. Montagu upon the people Lord Sinha and Messrs. Shafi, Sarma and Sapru, are the servants of the British Ministry and not of the Indian people. We have every reason to be happy that some of our countrymen will share the leaves and fishes that were so far reserved only for the Britishers. We are happy that they will have opportunities in their country in position of very well and feeling.

Our success will be determined by the extent of our earnestness, the spirit of self-sacrifice in the leaders, the spirit of self-reliance in the rank and file, the power to lead right and to be led by righteous men. The time comes when we must decide between the life of the body and soul and the life of the body and comparative ease which is allowed to a few of us under the present system. We must decide for the former we must be prepared to pay the consequences. But if we choose the latter we must not cry if we do not get. That is the real issue before you. I can leave this issue with your hands.

CONFIDENTIAL SPEECH.

OPINIONS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

MADRAS, Sept. 4.

to the Congress Presidential address, the "Madras Mail" says:—We should like the President for taking up the judicial impartiality if his charge had been strictly impartial or given any clear directions upon any, advantages or risks of non-cooperation. But in these respects his address was wanting. He works up an amount of prejudice against

it will be equally unwise and perhaps fatal to ignore them. There are some worthy men who are disposed to confound the people with mobs; they believe that true leadership requires the disregard of the opinions and wishes of the people. With due respect to them, I have no hesitation in saying that I do not share their belief. The masses change their character into mobs when they are inflamed by passion and anger, and are filled with a desire for revenge and as a rule this happens only under grave provocation. In that situation it becomes the duty of the leaders to be firm and save the situation by tact and skill. The Punjab leaders at Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and Kasur tried to do this and would, I verily believe, have saved the situation but for the meddling and blundering of the bureaucracy who were out for producing a moral effect. The situation at Delhi was actually saved by the tactful leadership of Swami Sharadhanand and the equally wise behaviour of the Chief Commissioner. Such, however, are exceptional occasions. Under ordinary circumstances wise leadership involves understanding the mass mind in a spirit of sympathy and respect. There may be occasions when majority or no majority, one has to go by the voice of one's own conscience but in practical politics such occasions are not frequent nor many. I will therefore beg of my fellow Congressmen to bear these considerations in mind when deciding the question before them. We must arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to the general body of our countrymen in whose interests and for whose welfare we are striving. We must not lose the lead of the people either by marching too far ahead of them, or by lagging behind. Both will be fatal to the best interests of the country.

In their present mood, the masses demand that we shall do something over and above the mere passing of resolutions. But I believe they want also that we shall not lose such opportunities of alleviating their condition and helping them in their little things, as we possess or which the law allows us.

DESPOTISM OF A DEMOCRACY WORSE THAN THAT OF A MONARCH.

Ladies and Gentlemen before I conclude, let me submit for your consideration one more thought. There is no such thing as benevolence in international politics. Although there is such a thing as enlightened self interest, the despotism of a democracy is in my judgment more fatal for subject people than that of an absolute monarch. The situation which you have to face is from this point of view more difficult and complex than the one your ancestors had to face even under the despotism of an Aurangzeb.

I would therefore very much like to warn my countrymen against being under any delusion as to the justice-loving nature or high-mindedness of any democracy in the world, British or other. I was in this matter disillusioned by my first visit to England in 1903. Since then I have had many opportunities of studying the nature and the character of several democracies (British, American and Japanese) and you may take it from me, that although there are men and women in these democracies who are absolutely just and high-minded, guided by the purest of motives in dealing with subject peoples and backward races the bulk of them be they of England or of America, not to speak of Japan, know only one thing, namely, their own interest or the interest of their race. There are sections in these democracies whose own class interests require the destruction of militarism and imperialism and who will therefore sympathise with those of the subject people who are struggling for emancipation. It is wise on your part to ally yourselves with them. But place no faith in the professions of those who, however liberal, worship at the shrine of Imperialism. The recent Parliamentary debate on the Punjab affairs ought to dispel all illusions of there were any still left on that score. The Imperialist Liberals in the House of Commons with a few noble exceptions, showed no sympathy for the sufferings of the Punjabees, in spite of the eloquent pleadings of men like Mr. T. J. Bennett, Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor Liberals in the House of Lords were among the most violent supporters of the military rule. It was a sight for the gods to see. Lords Curzon, Milner and Birkenhead pleading for conciliation and Lords Amptill and Macdonnell supporting brute force.

Have as many friends as you can have, among Englishmen and others, but have faith in yourselves and yourselves alone. It is much better to go rather slowly than be deluded by promises held out to us by people who are not in position to fulfil those promises, or who do not mean what they say or who promise in diplomatic language. Our progress depends more than any thing else upon the volume and vigour of our own public opinion in this country. It will be wise to have this supplemented by the moral support of the great nations of the world, since by virtue of being a member of the League of Nations, we can now legitimately appeal to them for such moral support.

Our success will be determined by the extent of our earnestness, the spirit of self-sacrifice in the leaders, the spirit of self-reliance in the rank and file, the power to lead right and to be led by righteous men. The time comes when we must decide between the life of the body and soul and the life of the body and comparative ease which is allowed to a few of us under the present system. We must decide for the former we must be prepared to pay the consequences. But if we choose the latter we must not cry if we do not get. That is the real issue before you. I can leave this issue with your hands.

THE "MADRAS TIMES."

The "Madras Times" in a short note says:—"Out of the mass of statulent verbiage which constitutes the Presidential address at the Non-Cooperation Congress one fact emerges, is that Lala Lajpat Rai possesses no decided opinion for or against non-cooperation, a subject to which indeed he devotes only one page of the document totaling fifty-six pages."

THE "HINDU."

The "Hindu" says:—"From Lala Lajpat Rai one expects cold merciless logic, a masterly marshalling of facts and arguments, and certain restraint of expression. All these characteristics are present in a full measure in his address. The outstanding feature of his address is its almost overwhelmingly judicial tone."

"NEW INDIA"

"New India" after pointing out that the bulk of the address is devoted to a recital of the wrongs of the Punjab, says that even if the President had hailed from any other province the sense of humiliation and indignation would not have been less marked in the address. The paper hopes the President will not allow the Congress to be driven over the principle by the feelings that the Khilafat and the Punjab questions have aroused, into any gospel of despair and the paper places the doctrine of non-cooperation, first under the category.

THE "JUSTICE."

The "Justice" gives credit to Lala Lajpat Rai for not making any definite pronouncement on non-cooperation in his Presidential address despite views and bias and says it remains to be seen what view he will take after the Congress has discussed the question and formally arrived at its own conclusion.

"CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE."

LAHORE, Sept. 4.

Commenting on Lala Lajpat Rai's Presidential address delivered at the Special Congress, the "Civil and Military Gazette" says:—"Indefiniteness in the main is characteristic of the speech and the inaccuracies are many. On its merits as a contribution of new thought to the political wisdom of this country we are exceedingly doubtful whether there is a single line of Lala Lajpat Rai's Presidential speech that is worthy of reproduction."

The paper adds:—"He touches gingerly and half heartedly on the Khilafat question, but there again he must know that no alteration in the Allies' decision can be made. If, therefore, he is serious in enforcing these demands it simply means that he is seeking for an excuse to put non-cooperation policy in his political programme as its main plank."

THE "TRIBUNE"

LAHORE, Sept. 4.

The "Tribune" characterises the Presi-

dential address as mainly and outspoken and describes it as the outpouring of Punjab's lacerated, but still unsubdued heart. The paper adds:—"Having dealt exhaustively with the Punjab question the President is naturally unable to do equal justice to other questions, but so far as the question of Khilafat at least is concerned four pages into all or nearly all that was worth saying from his own point of view and of the majority of non-Muslims. They are strong unqualified and unequivocal condemnation of Allied policy in regard to Turkey and of the violation by the Premier of his pledges and an equally strong and sympathetic assurance to the Muslims of India that non-Muslims will go as far with them in their effort to have their wrongs righted as they can possibly do consistently with their duty to the country and will not mind any sacrifice that may be involved in the process."

THE "BANDE MATARAM"

LAHORE, Sept. 4.

The "Bande Mataram" says:—"It will be no exaggeration to say that Lala Lajpat Rai is an authority on international politics and it is therefore no wonder that he has discussed the Khilafat question in an excellent manner. The speech is dignified and full of significance and we are confident that the country will derive great benefit by its perusal."

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

HEATED DISCUSSION ON NON-COOPERATION.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Sept. 4.

The All-India Congress Committee met last evening and not in the afternoon, as announced, owing to late arrival of Bombay delegates. Resolutions passed at the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, held at Benares last August, were read and confirmed. Resolutions on Non-Cooperation adopted by various Provincial Congress Committees were next placed before the meeting. This was followed by an animated and heated discussion in which several prominent members including Messrs. Jinnah and Shaukat Ali showed much enthusiasm. Eventually it was decided to postpone the discussion as the matter will come up for consideration before the meeting of the Subjects Committee to be held on Sunday.

ALL-INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE.

WHOLE CONSTITUTION REVISED.

CALCUTTA, Sept. 3.

The Conference of members of the All-India Home Rule League met this morning, under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi at the hall of the Bangiya Jana Sabha when the whole of the constitution was revised. Vital change is made in the first article of the League. The changed creed runs as follows:—

- (1) To secure self-Government for India;
 - (2) To carry on continuous propaganda with a view to organising the people for peaceful and effective action to achieve self-Government;
 - (3) To take such actions as and when necessary.
- The name of the League is changed to the "Swarajya Sabha."

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